THE
NATION

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LETTERS

time to appeal

Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: Paul Good's otherwise excellent article, "Laying Freedom On The Line" [*The Nation*, Mar. 20] contains one misleading statement which should be called to the attention of potential draft protesters. The U.S. Court of Appeals has not, as Mr. Good asserts, ruled out a Selective Service Law regulation that a draftee must appeal his classification within ten days of receiving notice. The author apparently is referring to the recent decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in *U.S.* v. *Gearey* which held that after a registrant receives an order to report for induction, he may have a conscientious objector claim considered if he makes a showing that his conscientious objector status did not crystallize in his mind until after receipt of the induction order. The decision of the court in no way affected the regulation requiring notice of appeal or request for a personal appearance within ten days of the mailing of a new classification. Local boards continue to enforce the regulation quite literally, and any registrant who fails to appeal a new classification within the ten-day period may find himself in a precarious position. *William G. Smith*

Canadian nationalism

Regina, Sask.

DEAR SIRS: C. W. Gonick's thoughtful analysis of the current Canadian debate over U.S. control of Canada's economy ["Canada Fights Its Orbit," *The Nation*, Apr. 17] fairly describes a situation that has aroused deep feelings among many Canadians. A recent public opinion poll conducted by the Toronto *Star* showed that 60 per cent of Canadians interviewed agreed that foreign control of Canadian industry endangers the country's political independence, and more than two-thirds felt the Canadian Government should act to reduce foreign control. . . . But Professor Gonick suggests that Canada is without "an effective vehicle for Canadian nationalism." Such an opinion must ignore the role of the New Democratic Party in vigorously advocating the cause of Canadian economic and political independence. The NDP has in fact become Canada's only effective vehicle for nationalism, although the Liberal Party from time to time renders lip service to the concept. . . .

William Deverell, Special Asst.
Office of the Leader of the Opposition

youth in Cicero

Cicero, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: The Mar. 27 issue of *The Nation* published "The Siege of Cicero" by Bruce J. Oudes. As a high school student and non-homeowner, I feel less inclined to be subjective in my view of the race situation in Cicero and, therefore, support the thesis of Mr. Oudes that Cicero, my community, is characterized by such extreme racial bigotry that eventually it will become a black ghetto. Although I feel his general thesis is correct, it seems quite evident that many of his statements have been contrived from hearsay or from biased literature. Being a teenager, I must attack his statement concerning the adolescents of Cicero whom he dared to generalize and to classify as "youths who wore their hair long before anyone ever heard of the Beatles and who proudly waved Nazi posters during the CORE march." Was it in an attempt to impress his viewpoint that Mr. Oudes overlooked the merit of Cicero youths? The Human Relations Club, for example which, by the way, exceeds the membership quota of five which was emphasized in the article, travels to

(Continued on page 660)

EDITORIALS

The GOP White Paper

According to reports from Washington, the policy re-
port that sought to prepare the Republican Party for a
strong dissent on Vietnam in 1968 has been laid to rest
Senator Dirksen, the minority leader, says the repor
was not discussed at the weekly lunch meeting of th
Senate Republican Policy Committee, for whose edifica
tion it was prepared. In this matter Senator Dirksen i
in accord with President Johnson, who must regard th
document with equal aversion. The situation is not with
out irony: an analysis prepared by Republicans for Re
publicans, with formidable potential for a Republica
victory in 1968, is viewed with the same distaste by th
Republican leadership as by the President whose con
tinuance in office it threatens.

Senator Dirksen is not alone in his rejection of th
White Paper. Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel, regarded as
member of the moderate wing of the party and up fo
re-election in 1968, also would like to see the repo
forgotten as soon as possible. "The issue before us now
he says, "is not the origin of our involvement in the co
flict but bringing it to a conclusion honorably, and, hop
fully, peacefully." He counsels against trying to gain po
session of the White House in 1968 at the cost of R
publican support of the "system of collective securi
against Communist expansion in Asia." He does not see
to realize—or at least does not choose to say publicly
that the only way to end the war may be for the R
publicans to win in 1968, and the only chance they ha
to win is by precisely the kind of cogent analysis t
White Paper represents.

The genesis of the report is significant. It was not t
work of senior, superannuated politicians. It was p
pared by a group of staff people in the offices of a nu
ber of Senators, who began with no particular bias
restraint on their thinking. They did something inheren
dangerous to established doctrine — they looked at
facts, then drew the inescapable conclusions.

Private reaction to the White Paper is quite differ
from the pooh-poohing of the Republican high comma
Several hawkish Senators have said that while they
not necessarily agree (it would be difficult to agree a
remain in the hawk camp), they found it impressive a
"quite interesting" to have the pattern of the facts
forth in this fashion. The report will continue to influe
Republican and Democratic thought, no matter how su
marily it is dismissed in public utterances. It has a
served an important purpose: it reveals the width of
split in the Republican Party on the issue of Vietnam
split which parallels that among the Democrats and wh
promises to play a major role in the 1968 campaign
It is difficult to see how Senators on one side of the a
will be able to maintain an intransigent partisan attit

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toward colleagues on the other side with whom they agree on the issue of Vietnam, nor how the hawks will maintain a brotherly accord with doves in their own party. By all indications, despite all efforts to relegate it to the background, Vietnam will dominate the campaign.

This tendency is already clearly in evidence. In the editorial "Speaking Out" (May 8) we forecast that Sen. George McGovern would gain, not lose, through his remarkable speech of April 25, which followed similar utterances at the Nation Institute Conference in Los Angeles on February 25. The Washington *Evening Star* of May 2 reports that McGovern's mail is averaging 1,000 letters a day and running 60 to 1 in favor of his position. Of course, people who are opposed to U.S. policy in Asia would write in greater volume after the kind of speech McGovern made; nevertheless, the ratio is an indication of what is going on in the minds of a great many voters. "I don't see how any Republican can touch [McGovern] after that speech," one Congressional staff member commented, which is precisely the point made in the editorial.

To the same effect, Sen. George D. Aiken, dean of Senate Republicans and second ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee, said on May 2 he had become convinced that "the present Administration cannot achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam." With a polite obeisance to his good intentions, Aiken said that the President "predicates peace on the capitulation of the enemy, and that solution seems far in the distance, if at all." Senator Hatfield agreed with Senator Aiken that "this Administration does not have the capacity to conduct negotiat· ns." And Sen. J. W. Fulbright, a Democrat, remarked that the GOP White Paper was the first break in the clouds he had seen in a long time. "If my committee staff had put it out," he added, "all hell would have broken loose."

Bipartisanship in foreign affairs is generally conceived as blind support of any warlike policy that a President of either party chooses to initiate. It can also be conceived as an agreement, despite party allegiances, among politicians who foresee the dire consequences of a mistaken policy so initiated, and pressed in defiance of statesmanlike prudence. As the Vietnamese War drags on, to America's discomfiture and disgrace, this type of bipartisanship is coming to the fore.

Our Tragedy in Greece

In "The Deadlock in Greece — Elections or Coup?" (*The Nation*, March 27, 1967) Stephen Rousseas related the activities of CIA agents, suspected or known to be such, in the tense situation then existing in Greece. In the July, 1965, crisis one of the suspected agents had returned to Athens after service with the State Department's Middle East desk, reported to be rife with CIA people. Both the CIA and the Pentagon, Rousseas wrote, continued to play important and often decisive roles in Greek

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politics. Evidence is presently lacking that the CIA engineered the current seizure of power by a reactionary army junta, but the situation was surely one in which it would have been happy to lend a hand.

Even if this is an exceptional instance and the CIA proves to be completely innocent, the affair exposes the futility of American policy in that part of the world—and elsewhere. The danger of a Communist take-over in Greece was the occasion for the promulgation of the Truman Doctrine and armed intervention by the United States, with British and other Western support. The Communist movement was suppressed, and this success set the pattern for anti-Communist U.S. action on a world-wide scale. And the result in Greece is the establishment of the first openly Fascist regime in Europe since Hitler took power in Germany in 1933.

That the Patakos-Papadopoulos-Makarezas colonels' regime is Fascist is, in the light of its actions, hardly open to doubt. A violent usurpation is not necessarily Fascist; there are other forms of dictatorship. But when an army faction seizes power, proceeds to suppress all Left and centrist organizations, abolishes parliamentary institutions, muzzles the press, and promises a radical reorganization of society along rightist lines—that is fascism. The excuse is familiar: the country must be saved from communism, which turns out to be anything and everything that might interfere with the naked exercise of power by the self-appointed saviors. By some mysterious alchemy, also, personal rectitude—as defined by the rulers—will establish social justice and abolish all the evils that have befallen the country under democracy.

The antics of the Greek rulers would be funny if their decrees were not symbols of tyranny, with worse to come. Girls are forbidden to wear miniskirts, the female thigh having been discovered to be related to subversion. Boys must not sport long hair. For the young of both sexes church attendance is to be compulsory. Beards will be tolerated on Greek males, but a bearded tourist must shave so long as he remains in the country, and tourists "clothed in rags or slovenly dress" will not be admitted.

While resistance to the coup has been completely lacking, there is considerable evidence that the conspirators do not know what to do with the power they have seized. Probably without reason (at least for the present), they fear a hostile popular reaction. They banned soccer games and horse racing, apparently on the supposition that any gathering, even of sports fans, might be dangerous. They lifted the ban, then imposed it once more.

For some of the 5,000 or more Greeks who have been put under arrest, the situation is by no means farcical. The Moscow radio broadcast reported late in April that Manolis Glezos, a Communist who was a hero of the resistance against the Nazi occupation, was in imminent danger of death at the hands of the junta. Another possible victim is Andreas Papandreou. He was an American citizen for many years, served in the U.S. Navy in World War II, and has many friends among American economists. He has been charged with conspiracy to commit high treason. In fact, if the junta represents Greece, he is guilty, since he tried to forestall the coup by ridding the army of the putschists before they could act. The least he can expect now is long imprisonment.

The Johnson Administration must expect new difficulties in the Mediterranean. The junta asserts that Greece is in NATO more firmly than before and demands increased military aid from the United States. If this demand is met, or even if military assistance is maintained at the earlier level, Turkey will clamor for greater arms aid. The Turks suspect, not without reason, that U.S. weapons in the hands of the Greek nationalists may be used against them.

The Johnson Administration has urged moderation on the junta; in particular, it has asked that Andreas Papandreou be spared. But by all indications the new regime will receive recognition. A leftist revolution arouses the implacable hatred of Washington. A rightist take-over may be disapproved initially, but Washington always manages to live with it—quite happily, in the end.

Grudge Fight

Speaking to a group of White House Fellows recently President Johnson said, ". . . the most noble outrag against injustice . . . will be only good intentions unles Americans . . . go into the field. . . ." On the very sam day he was giving this advice, Mr. Johnson had turne down a request from the Senate Poverty Subcommitte to send emergency food rations to the Mississippi Delt where hunger is a way of life and where between 40,00 and 60,000 people are expected to be jobless and con pletely without food by this summer.

The subcommittee had gone "into the field," as Joh son advised the Fellows to do; on a recent trip to Missi sippi it had visited the shanties where people live on ri and soybeans and children's bellies are swollen with ma nutrition. The subcommittee wrote up its findings, pr sented them to Johnson, and asked his help in translati them into practical results—just as he recommended.

Not only did Johnson turn down the request; he didı even send a reply. Why would he respond so coldly wh he knows thousands of desperate people are dependi on him for relief? Because, simply, he is incapable rising above personal politics. Look at the subcommitt that made the request: One man he hates (Robert Ke nedy); one man he thoroughly dislikes (Edward Kennedy one man has been a constant nettle to Johnson since t late 1950s (Joseph Clark); and all the others—Jennir Randolph, Gaylord Nelson, Winston Prouty, Jacob Jav and George Murphy—have often opposed him.

Even that old reactionary song-and-dance man, Geoı Murphy, was moved by the suffering he saw in Miss sippi; in fact, it was he who first suggested that the st

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committee by-pass the Department of Agriculture and go straight to the President with their petition. Murphy could put aside partisan politics—Robert Kennedy could put aside personal politics—for mercy's sake. But President Johnson could not.

And for the same reason the White House is now opposing a bill sponsored by Javits, Clark, both Kennedys, Randolph, Morse, Nelson and Pell to add $137.5 million to the anti-poverty budget. Neither Johnson nor any of his aides will even talk about it with Clark, spokesman for the group. But Johnson made his position clear enough by undercutting their bill with one of his own—for only $75 million, introduced as soon as he heard the Clark bill was going to appear. The lesser figure (aimed only at cooling hot tempers during the summer, whereas the Clark-Kennedy-Javits measure is for a year-round program) will get the Administration's support.

Say what you will about Johnson's forgetting some of his Great Society promises, nobody can ever accuse him of forgetting a grudge.

The Change

Last fall, three soldiers were court-martialed at Fort Dix, N.J., for refusing to go to Vietnam. One received a three-year sentence, the others must serve five years.

A draftee now stationed at Fort Benning, Ga., is bringing suit against the Secretary of Defense to block his assignment to duty in Vietnam. He asserts that the war abridges his rights to due process under the Fifth Amendment and that it violates the UN Charter and various other pacts and proceedings to which the United States is a party, including the Nuremberg judgments.

Another soldier, having been inducted despite a record of militant opposition to the war, is performing his duties but continues to voice his dissent within the Army. He is threatened with court-martial proceedings for "disloyal statements," "subversion," etc.

After twelve years of exemplary service, and while he is up for promotion to major, a captain in the Air Force seeks to resign his commission and says he will go to jail rather than serve in Vietnam. He would have no moral reservations about engaging in combat in a war in which the United States was fighting in its own defense.

A lieutenant is arrested by military police while carrying a picket sign protesting the war.

A captain-doctor is charged with promoting "disloyalty and disaffection among troops." He refuses to instruct aidmen in skills which ostensibly are to be used to help South Vietnamese villagers. He maintains that medical art is becoming "the handmaiden of political objectives."

The heavyweight champion of the world claims a clergyman's exemption, but makes it clear that whatever the outcome in the courts he will refuse to serve. Tom Wicker points out (*The New York Times*, May 2) that his is outright civil disobedience, challenging the right of the majority to rule, and illustrates "the ultimate danger to a government that outrages a powerful and passionate minority."

Emerging as the leader of a passionate and, one hopes, powerful minority, Martin Luther King encourages young men to oppose the draft.

James Reston, reporting in *The New York Times* (April 26) on a visit to Yale University, finds that Strobe Talbott, chairman of the *Yale Daily News*, and other generally conservative undergraduates, are trying to get university leaders elsewhere in the country to organize "in order to support a policy of nonreligious immunity from service in particular wars."

Other cases could be cited, but where do even these few leave General Westmoreland in his contention that the war is "a single all-pervading confrontation" in which not only the fate of the "free world" hangs in the balance but "the reputation and the very honor of our country is at stake"? The dissenters agree that the honor of our country is at stake, but they feel it is Westmoreland, et al., who are ruining it.

Those who remember two World Wars and Korea can see that a significant change has taken place. Opposition to past wars was motivated by such factors as affection for the old country, religious or pacifist scruples, and reluctance to leave the safety and comfort of civilian life. Never before has there been widespread opposition to a particular war on the ground (whether or not it is so expressed) that it did not meet St. Augustine's definition of a "just" war. Never before have citizens persistently and openly challenged the official explanations of why we must fight. Stemming from the invention of nuclear weapons, a general disillusionment with war as a means of settling disputes has set in; it is now reinforced by abhorrence of a war in which the world's foremost military power is devastating a small, distant country.

Why should any decent person fight in such a war, or counsel others to do so? *Look* (May 2) quotes one of the West German leaders of the neo-Nazi NPD as saying: "What right have you Americans to preach your brand of salvation to us? You are the Nazis of today." There are several holes in this indictment, but it comes from an expert source and contains a shocking component of truth. Called on to support an immoral war, many Americans refuse to respond with the traditional patriotic tropisms. May their numbers increase!

Death of the Widget

The death of the *World Journal Tribune* after a few months of life was entirely predictable. The most vital partner in this three-paper merger, the morning *Herald Tribune*, had expired in last year's 140-day newspaper strike, and what was born in its place was a *mélange* of three different papers that never jelled. The news content reflected the wire-service coverage, fast rewrite, no-

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bureau-of-its-own-anywhere skimpiness of the *World-Telegram*; the editorial page mirrored the antediluvian notions of the *Journal-American*; and about all that was discernible of the *Herald Tribune*, which had been an excellent journalistic product, were the columnists—Joseph Alsop, Walter Lippmann, Jimmy Breslin, Red Smith. It was a clutter without a purpose.

In the post-mortems, the unions have taken a beating for intransigence. A lot of this criticism is deserved. Union leaders acted on the conviction that the owners would pay any losses, however staggering. After negotiating a 21 per cent salary hike at the *Daily News*, Bertram A. Powers, head of the Printers' union, announced truculently that the owners of the *World Journal Tribune* could pay or close up. Already incurring losses of $700,000 a month, they met this ultimatum by closing up.

The union attitude doubtless brought death more quickly, but the plain fact is that the paper wasn't making it. When news content begins to sound like a throwaway, when there is no depth or probing or purpose, there is no dedicated readership; and, without that kind of vital commitment to a paper, advertising shies away. Perhaps this should not have been too surprising, for the Widget, as newsmen called the hybrid, seemed to show the face of the *World-Telegram*. And the *World-Telegram*, under the late Roy Howard, had worked out a fascinating formula for slow death.

It went like this: The ideal circulation is somewhere around 400,000; just keep that and you'll get maximum advertising revenue for minimum production costs. Deliberately, then, you discourage excess circulation, you cut out delivery routes in Harlem and similar unsavory neighborhoods, you refuse to give suburban dealers all the papers they can sell, and you concentrate on developing a "quality" readership to lure those advertisements from Lord & Taylor's and Macy's. This is a business-formula newspaper, and it seems very logical on paper. The trouble with it is that it won't work, because a newspaper isn't a commodity like a pound of cheese.

The history of the *World-Telegram* operation tells the story. After the merger of the *Telegram* and the *World*, circulation zoomed over 600,000, was frittered away to less than 400,000—and in 1950, the *Sun* was bought. Again a circulation of more than 600,000 dried up until the danger point was reached and the transfusion of another merger was needed. Internally, these periods of decay and decline were traumatic. As the downhill slide became dangerous, the formula was unvarying: "tighten up" the news content, reducing the ratio of news to advertising; "tighten up" the news staff by reducing it in numbers and quality—and at the same time raise circulation prices. Virtually the same formula had been tried when the old *World* began to fail; it didn't work then, and hasn't worked since. All that happens is that you produce less and less of a newspaper, more and more of a throwaway, and advertisers flee.

The same telltale signs of panicked retrenchment had been perceptible in the Widget. Even before the abrupt announcement that the paper was folding, there had been firings of personnel, economy cutbacks, deadly tightening and scrimping all along the line. John Hay Whitney, who had gambled millions and made the *Herald Tribune* a joy to read (but unfortunately in the wrong field where the *Times* and the *Daily News* had sewed up the revenue), might have been able to turn the *World Journal Tribune* into a respected and profitable organ—a paper with a goal beyond maintaining "quality" circulation for department store ads. But Whitney's voice did not dominate in the new organization, and the wide-open opportunity in the New York afternoon field, abandoned now to the *Post*, was never seized.

In retrospect, it seems that the *World Journal Tribune*'s best chance lay in roaring out of the gate, challenging the world. These are times of ferment. Even the police admit that 125,000 marchers turned out in New York's massive peace demonstration, and most other estimates put the figure around at least 300,000. Those who support silently are probably more numerous than those who commit themselves to march. Could the Widget have made itself the champion of the peace movement? Or could it have given expression to the problems and needs of the burgeoning Negro and Puerto Rican communities now that so much of the old "quality" readership has gone off to the suburbs? To ask such questions is hardly hindsight. The hybrid, if it was to live down the name of Widget, had to establish its own individuality; it had to *do something*. It didn't. And it died with hardly a whimper.

FRED J. COOK

Bugging the Press

Critics of the *New York Times* women's page say it "gets too much space, and they particularly oppose the publication of lengthy stories by Charlotte Curtis, a 5-foot, fast-stepping blonde, describing the activities of wealthy wastrels from Palm Beach to New York, at a time when most of America is moving toward the goals of a more egalitarian society." ("The Kingdoms, The Powers, and the Glories of The New York Times" by Gay Talese, *Esquire*, November, 1966.)

"Mrs. Daniel Moran, the former Gregg Sherwood Dodge, decided the orange and white basketball court that passes for her loggia was too small for the two Vizla dogs she keeps in the house, so she had the room rebuilt last fall to accommodate them. 'I had the tile floor put in because the dogs like to lie on something cool,' she said." (A dispatch from Palm Beach by Charlotte Curtis, *The New York Times*, March 2, 1967.)

CONSTANTINE POULOS

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TROUBLE IN EGYPT

VERN L. BULLOUGH

Mr. Bullough is a historian who, during a sabbatical leave from San Fernando Valley State College (California), has been studying this year on a Fulbright fellowship in Egypt.

The army colonels, including Gamal Abdel Nasser, who ousted King Farouk on July 26, 1952, had a rather naive understanding of the nature and effect of revolutions. They believed that the only thing preventing Egypt from becoming a thriving and successful country was the corruption of the Farouk regime, which in turn gave control of the country to foreign imperialists and permitted domestic exploitation. Today, some fifteen years after the revolution, they begin to realize that for all the very real progress, Egypt has still not advanced very far.

At first, the economic effects of the revolution were impressive. In its first decade the gross national product rose in real terms at the fairly consistent rate of 6 per cent a year, after almost fifty years of stagnation. Moreover, this growth spread to the lowest reaches of society. The *fellahin* is probably better off today than he has ever been, unemployment has dropped, social services have been expanded, housing for the urban poor erected, and the beggar has almost disappeared from the streets. Nevertheless, the ordinary Egyptian still lives at a very substandard level and economic growth has fallen to less than 3 per cent. It will probably drop still lower this year, making further improvement most difficult.

The greatest political achievement of the revolution was the nationalization of the Suez Canal at the end of 1956, an act which made President Nasser a hero to the Egyptians as well as to most people of the Near East. This was followed by a real breakthrough in Near Eastern politics with the union of Syria and Egypt into the United Arab Republic and the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq. Since that time, however, the union with Syria has foundered, Egypt has become involved in a Vietnamese type of war in Yemen, Nasser has supported dissident groups in Jordan and Aden, and the Egyptian leader has become an object of fear to many other Arab leaders who believe that he intends to become the dominant figure in a united and revolutionized Arab world.

Internally, while Nasser is still revered as few rulers are or have been in modern times, his power base is still the army. Thus far the revolutionary junta has been unable to build a successful political party dedicated to Socialist reform. The revolution is planned, directed and administered from the top (the army) and there is a decided lack of dedicated party members of the type which have emerged in other revolutionary situations.

The difficulty that Nasser now faces is that all the easy tasks have been done; those remaining are the painful ones that can be carried out only at the cost of considerable antagonism within the country. In a sense, Egypt presents a case study in the difficulties underdeveloped countries experience when they try to overcome their past. Much of the early success of the revolution was at the expense of minorities (Greek, Armenian, Jewish, Italian, Belgian) who were in no position to protest because they were aliens, or at the expense of "imperialist" foreign groups (particularly the English and French). Whenever foreigners left, their places were taken by Egyptian nationals. And the Egyptian opponents of the revolution had so lost contact with their country that their only recourse was to flee.

In its early days, everything seemed to go right for the revolution. When Nasser suffered a setback, as he did in John Foster Dulles' nastily abrupt refusal to build the High Dam at Aswan, he was lucky enough to interest the Soviets in the project. When Israel attacked Egypt, the weakness of Nasser's military machine was obscured by French and English intervention, which allowed the Egyptian army to appear as heroic defenders against the old imperialists.

Various Western powers, either relieved by the departure of the corrupt Farouk or eager to establish their influence in Egypt, also gave aid in the first stages of the revolution. It is not widely recognized by Egyptians (or by outsiders) that much of the financial success in the early years came from the fact that Egypt managed to obtain more foreign aid per head than any other developing nation (except Formosa and South Korea). While American aid has been curtailed drastically in the last few years, the United States has given about $1.5 billion to the country since 1952. The decline in American aid was at first offset by an increase from Russia, which now has almost equaled the American contribution. Other Soviet bloc countries also contributed as did Western ones, particularly Germany and Italy. Even the Red Chinese chipped in.

This political miracle of aid is now coming to an end and the consequences are already felt. From increasing economic difficulties, Egypt has been forced to renegotiate for deferred payment on $100 million worth of debt to England, France and Italy. The International Monetary Fund, to which Egypt is also heavily in debt, has urged a devaluation of currency and a drastic cutback in government spending. Since Nasser has resisted these recommendations, the fund is now making still another survey, in the hope of finding some solution to the present crisis. But drastic attempts to cut down the Egyptian deficit in the past year have already created havoc. Some government factories have slowed to 50 to 70 per cent of capacity from lack of money for imported components and parts; a much needed hospital has delayed opening for more than a year because it cannot buy equipment. On the civilian market, replacement parts are almost unobtainable.

To maintain its earlier growth rate Egypt would need $150 million a year in hard currency for investment—an amount which now seems impossible to raise except from outside sources. The great Egyptian dollar earners, the cotton crop and the Suez Canal, seem to be almost at maximum earning capacity. While many Western companies would undoubtedly be willing to undertake large investment programs, they would do so only

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Gamal Abdel Nasser

if they received considerable cooperation from the government. Ford (and its subsidiary Philco), Coca-Cola and other companies that have in the past had fairly good relations with the Egyptians, found themselves banned because they made contacts with Israel. Fiat, which had an assembly plant in Egypt, closed down more than a year ago because of continued government interference. Even when foreign companies meet all the Egyptian terms for investment, there is no real guarantee that the government will follow through on its agreements.

The greatest obstacle to further development, however, is the rapid expansion in population, now estimated at about 30 million people. Since the annual increase is close to 3 per cent (the theoretical maximum is 4), about 800,000 new citizens are added each year. That rapid increase is making the 6 million acres of arable land in Egypt the most densely populated in the world. Even the fabled richness of the Nile valley soil, which yields three crops a year, cannot support that many people. If medical techniques (still quite backward but better than most underdeveloped countries) continue to improve, Egypt's problems will only get worse.

Much of the present population problem is the fault of the revolutionary junta itself, which torpedoed earlier birth control efforts. Nasser and his fellow colonels at first quite simply believed that all of Egypt's difficulties were due to foreign imperialists and that their socialism (inadequate as it is) would bring an end to any presumed population problem. The 1960 census finally drove home to them that even with the land opened up by the High Dam they would be able in future to feed proportionately fewer of their population than when the dam was started. But the Egyptian Government has still not mounted an effective population control program.

There is also a danger that the revolution will soon lose the more or less passive support of the professional and intellectual groups. While members of this class suffered from the revolution, they were in part compensated by being sent abroad on special missions to other Arab, Islamic, or African countries, where they received high salaries and perquisites. After serving missions of one, two or three years, they were allowed to return with their accumulated savings, their cars and other items difficult to obtain. They gave loyalty to the regime so that they might go forth again. Since Egypt, compared to most other underdeveloped countries, had a large number of trained people, this export of talent made the revolution popular both at home and abroad.

Such excursions are now becoming less frequent, in part because the total number of professionals has been steadily growing, but also because Egypt's relations with many of the other Arab and Islamic governments have deteriorated. The mounting discontent among professional groups was one reason for the growth of the Muslim Brotherhood, an almost reactionary fundamentalist group. To counter this threat, Nasser had to emphasize the Islamic nature of his reform program, both to the detriment of the Copts (Egyptian Christians) and at the expense of some long overdue religious reforms (such as the Ramadan month of inactivity).

Education has often been seen as a cure-all for the problems of underdeveloped areas. The Egyptian revolution promised every Egyptian child the opportunity for an education. While this promise is still a long way from being realized, enough has been accomplished to cause tremendous unforeseen difficulties. What does an underdeveloped country do with all its educated people? This question has become especially acute at the college level, since all college graduates are guaranteed jobs. As it is next to impossible to flunk out students permanently, a flood of college graduates, many of them poorly qualified and without specific training, pours into an overcrowded job market. The solution that has been adopted is to give the graduates jobs in the government, and this has resulted in tremendous overstaffing. A visiting economist recently estimated that in one important government office some sixty-five of the 700 senior employees were capable of doing a first-rate job; the rest were deadwood. The government has lowered the retirement age for some jobs to 55, but still the number of job holders piles up at all levels of society, and new varieties of red tape are continually devised to occupy the surplus bureaucrats.

One obvious step to recover the momentum of the

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revolution would be to put less emphasis on the military and more on industrial and agricultural development. Egypt has the largest and best equipped army in the Arab world, some 200,000 to 400,000 men; it costs about one-third of the annual expenditures of the Egyptian Government, approximately $650 million a year. The justification for the army is the continued existence of Israel, although the Egyptians quite obviously use their army in Yemen and elsewhere. As arms expense mounts, there is real danger that in order to justify the large army, and at the same time obscure domestic difficulties, Nasser might well attack Israel. A first-class military clash with Israel would, according to some experts, ease Nasser off the domestic hook. Whether he won, or whether great-power opposition forced him to retreat, he would come through stronger than ever.

If the Egyptian army can be kept under control, the war in Yemen brought to an end, and some tight financing applied to internal problems, Egypt has a real chance of developing in the next ten years into a major neutralist presence on the world scene. In the long run, Egypt has at least two major potential sources of income, oil and tourism, which might save it, both of which could be implemented by the hydroelectric power from the Aswan Dam. Egyptian oil fields in the Red Sea are beginning to produce in quantity and might bring $50 million a year in revenues by the end of 1968, although much of this will be used to replace oil formerly imported into Egypt. More important are the possible oil deposits in the western desert, next to Libya, which might make Egypt a major oil-producing country. Egypt is also a tourist magnet, offering to the historically minded almost unparalleled opportunities for exploration and, for those bent on recreation, almost everything but winter sports. There are also the attractions of the mysterious Near East, and a population where almost anyone can speak at least pidgin English or French. If Egypt's relations with Jordan improve, there is real chance for an Athens, Cairo, Jerusalem tourist circuit to rival Paris and Rome.

However, the road ahead in the next ten years will be difficult. There is a chance that Nasserism will survive by becoming more totalitarian than it now is, withdrawn from the world, supported by an almost paranoid fear of the outside, and that the benefits of the revolution so far achieved will be more and more restricted to the new military ruling class. The other danger is that the country might fall prey to internal dissension; this could lead to chaos that would not easily be overcome. If in spite of these difficulties Egypt manages to keep developing there might be real hope for the rest of the underdeveloped world. If one underdeveloped country suffering from a colonial hangover can make it on the world scene, others might find the resolve and resources to do likewise. If the internal achievements of the Nasser revolution, incomplete as they are, can be extended, copied and adapted elsewhere, there may yet be a future for the masses of Africa and Asia. The world as a whole has a lot to gain if Nasser achieves his Arab third way through peaceful means.

BATTLE LINE OF WELFARE

THE HUNGRY CAN'T WAIT

CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND
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A great deal of optimism was being expressed a year ago with reference to the nation's poor. Some liberals and civil rights leaders were enthusiastic about those programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) that aim to provide real opportunity for poor and disadvantaged groups to pull themselves up by the boot straps. Economists and social welfare workers were pleased by the success of their long efforts to call attention to the plight of the invisible poor in our midst. Large numbers of people felt that we were on the right track, even though existing programs may have had shortcomings and were generally inadequate to make a deep dent in the problem.

Recent events have dampened this initial enthusiasm. The combination of attacks by some members of Congress on the high cost of OEO programs, the criticism of liberals on the minuscule efforts and expenditures, the curtailment of Great Society programs because of the demands of Vietnam, the recent elections which brought severe critics of OEO and other Great Society programs into public office—these and related events cause increasing concern among those who thought that at least a beginning was being made toward abolition of poverty. Disenchantment with the prospects of a vigorous and effective anti-poverty program has served to stimulate discussion of a "guaranteed minimum income." More and more persons are becoming convinced that the United States has reached an economic development which makes it both feasible and relatively easy to do away with poverty entirely through some such sweeping legislation.

But during the past two years, while discussions of a guaranteed minimum income and anti-poverty programs occupied stage center, little attention was given to the "poorest of the poor." These are the more than 8 million persons on the public relief rolls of state and local welfare departments (not to mention the uncounted others who are eligible for public relief, but who, for one reason or another, do not appear on the rolls; see Cloward and Piven, "The Birth of a Movement": *The Nation*, May 8). They receive funds for food, clothing and shelter, but in most cases, the funds are not enough

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to support health and decency. The federal government provides the majority of the funds used for public assistance. Thus, on the one hand, the federal government attempts to assist persons *out* of their distress and *up* from poverty through various anti-poverty programs, while, on the other, it participates with the states in continuing to maintain 8 million public assistance recipients *in* conditions of distress and *in* poverty.

A number of sound and far-reaching proposals are occupying the intellectual and political arenas. The previously mentioned guaranteed minimum income, which would have been considered radical even three or four years ago, has been proposed by Sargent Shriver and by the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress of the Department of Labor, which included representatives of big business. But while we discuss and debate macro-economic measures to solve the problem of poverty and to guarantee every American a decent standard of living, we tend to forget that millions of poor must be fed, clothed and housed now. There is an unfortunate tendency among some federal officials to depreciate "handout" programs and to emphasize training, community action and more "constructive" approaches. When Congress pays attention to the problem, it is frequently to deplore rising costs, "chiselers," illegitimacy and other problems which frustrate alleged Congressional desires to do something more "constructive."

Public assistance programs represent the recognition by the American people, the Congress, the state legislatures and the executive branches of federal, state and local governments that an affluent society such as the United States cannot permit people to suffer because they lack income through no fault of their own. Some are too old or too young or too disabled to work. Others suffer from handicaps which make it impossible for them to get even a sustaining share of our increasing standard of living and our continued rise in personal income. We recognize a responsibility for such as these. Nevertheless, we can hardly echo the statement made in an official British document that "No man, woman, or child in Britain need for any reason fall below a minimum standard of life." Many of the 8 million persons on relief in the United States do fall below any standard for decency which reasonable people would be willing to set.

To understand how this situation can exist in the United States today, it is necessary to understand how our public relief programs operate. The American colonies inherited the English Poor Laws which established the principle of governmental responsibility for the support of the poor. Associated with this basic principle were three established policies: (1) local responsibility; (2) responsibility of relatives, and (3) residence laws which limited eligibility to persons who were long-time members of the community. Under this Poor Law philosophy, it was the local community in the United States that established departments of charities, and it gave relief in kind (i.e., groceries, clothing, medical care). Generally, the aid was so meager that reports on local practices prior to 1936 reveal that cruel treatment and shameful hardships were the lot of those "on the county."

Adoption of the Social Security Act in 1935 created a change. The average citizen thinks of the Social Security Act as establishing unemployment insurance, old-age, survivors and disability insurance, and now Medicare. But the Act also established a grant-in-aid program whereby the federal government assigns funds to the states on a matching basis for relief of the needy. A matching formula, weighted at present in favor of low-income states, results in the federal government's paying from 40 to 80 per cent of the total cost. Under this arrangement states have established federal-state programs of Old Age Assistance for the needy over 65; Aid to the Blind; Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled; Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Medical assistance for medically indigent (MEDICAID).

In addition, states and/or local communities have established a program of "General Assistance" for needy persons who do not meet the eligibility requirements of the federal categories. Of the 8 million on relief, about 8 per cent receive General Assistance.

All of these programs are infinitely superior to those existing prior to the Social Security Act. Federal laws and regulations require that assistance be granted in cash; that recipients have the right to appeal a denial of assistance; that practices must be uniform throughout the state, and that states must provide services to assist in rehabilitation, uniting of families, and a variety of other services in order to qualify for federal reimbursement of 75 per cent of state and local administration costs.

But although the federal government established numerous excellent regulations for the federal-state programs, the most important aspect of the program—the amount of money to be paid to relief recipients—was left for state determination. As a result, states vary in their payments from liberal amounts, which are yet barely enough to support people decently, to payments which are too low to purchase the minimum necessities.

The average payment on Old Age Assistance in the United States is less than $75 per month, and the average payment per recipient in the AFDC program is approximately $35 per month. These amounts must take care of rent, food, clothing, utilities, transportation and all other needs of life. When one realizes that many of the recipients of public assistance have little or no other income, the seriousness of the problem can be appreciated.

Old Age Assistance payments reflect a more generous and liberal attitude than payments to recipients of AFDC. Nevertheless, average monthly Old Age Assistance payments in August, 1966, ranged from a high of $121.34 in New Hampshire to a low of $39.93 in Mississippi. Even the so-called more affluent states such as Delaware, Arizona, Idaho, Maine, Pennsylvania and Utah, fell below the national average of $74.02. The spread of payments to those receiving AFDC is even greater. The average monthly payment per recipient in the United States in August, 1966, was $35.38, with a high of $51 and a low of $7.90. Again, some of the affluent states fell substantially below the national average.

About 67 per cent of the 3 million children, receiving care under the AFDC program, live in families where the father is absent. More than 2 million of the children are under 13 years of age, and the median age is 8. These 3 million children are growing up in our rich country, sup-

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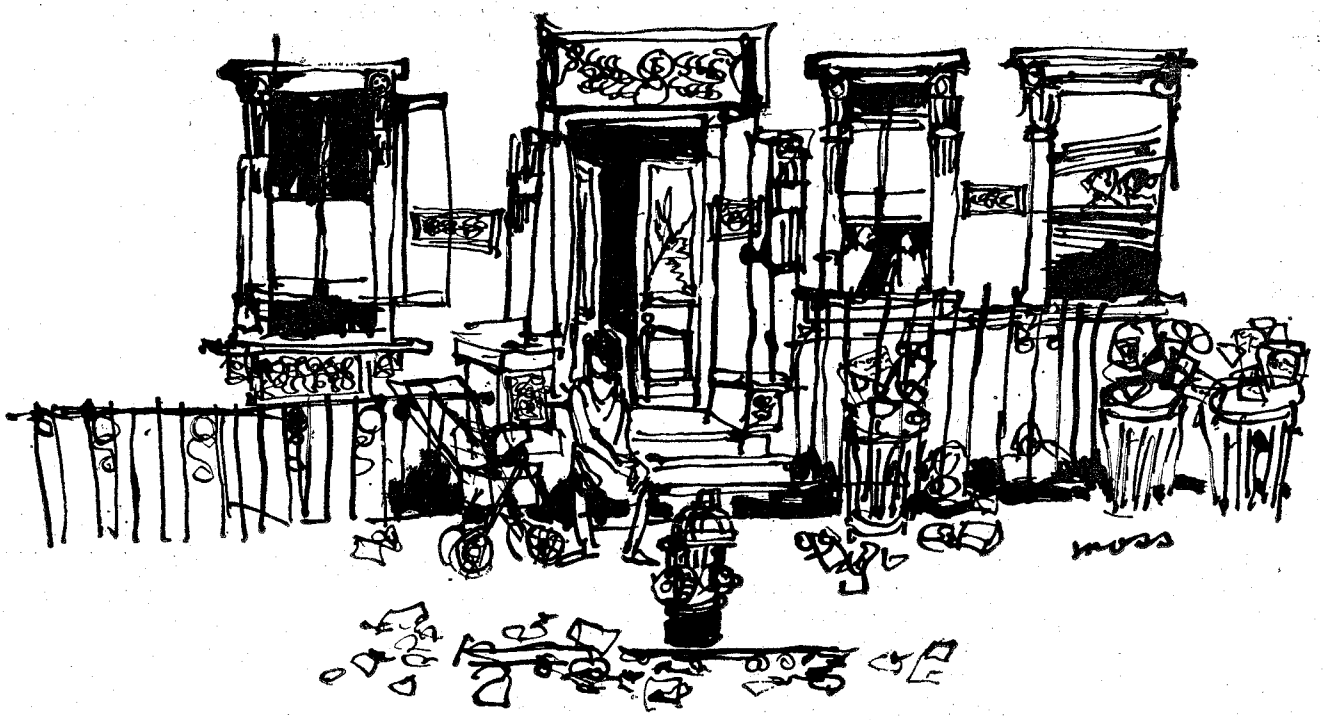

ported by government programs, at a level which threatens their health and almost certainly deprives them of proper growth and development.

How can anyone justify a resident of, say, Massachusetts paying federal income taxes to be utilized for a grant-in-aid program of public assistance which results in undernourishment, bad housing and poor medical care for recipients of public assistance in other states? Inadequate programs frequently affect the residents of Massachusetts as directly as they do the residents of the state in which the low standards are applied. And even in Massachusetts, which has one of the most liberal public assistance programs, the amounts available to "reliefers" are barely enough to keep body and soul together, and fall below the accepted poverty line.

There is one simple answer to this problem. Both from a practical and a humanitarian point of view, the appropriate solution is compulsory federal standards. Levels of public assistance should be set by the federal government to guarantee recipients sufficient income to purchase the basic food, clothing and shelter vital for decent living and health. No state should be permitted to fall below the minimum standards.

Many persons, more interested in political structure than in people, will raise the specter of States' rights and claim that the state is empowered to keep many of its people at a starvation level if it so wishes. Still others will complain that that is an unfair and cruel way to put the issue and will declare that each state is obliged to establish public assistance programs consistent with its own financial resources. One vital fact is being ignored. The United States has the resources to provide a decent standard of living for all of its citizens. A mechanism to secure that standard for those who cannot achieve it for themselves in the market place has been developed. It is a combination of social insurance and public assistance. A federal standard that will be binding upon all states accepting federal funds is needed in the public assistance arena.

This analysis of the situation is neither radical, revolutionary nor impractical. Federal specifications exist for a variety of grants. States must adhere to standards when they use federal funds for highways. If states request assistance for hospitals under the Hill-Burton Act, they must meet specific qualifications. Public health agencies receiving funds for maternal and child health and crippled children programs must follow federal guidelines. These are only a few of the agencies and programs which insist upon minimum federal standards. Why shouldn't similar federal standards be established for public assistance? State legislatures no longer determine who shall vote; why should they determine who shall eat?

Theoretically, the standards already exist. Regulations of the Welfare Administration of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare spell out the goals of public assistance and list the items which should be included in individual and family budgets under the various public assistance titles of the Social Security Act. What is needed now is a specification of these items in terms of dollars. And a floor must be set below which no state may fall. It should be at least as high as the current demarcation line of $3,000 for a family of four.

Major new programs or fantastic expenditures of public funds are not being requested here. Federal standards for reasonable support of the needy will be relatively inexpensive, especially when compared with the tremendous expenditures now involved in social security, anti-poverty and a host of related programs.

In the past six years, I have talked with many persons on public assistance. I have interviewed them in the ghettos of Harlem in New York and of Roxbury in Boston. In these two states, public assistance stand-

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ards are relatively high, although still too low. I have also talked to such persons in Texas, Maryland and West Virginia, states where the standards are much lower. It does not take a student of the problem to see what happens when persons do not have enough money to keep body and soul together.

We simply cannot help people out of their poverty, make them self-sufficient and self-respecting, as long as their stomachs are empty. There are states today that have excellent medical programs for public assistance recipients but such low cash grants that the inevitable result is a large incidence of malnutrition—which of course immediately qualifies the starving person for excellent medical care.

The imposition of a federal standard will not solve the problems overnight, but it will be a step in that direction. It will show that as a nation we do care how the 8 million fare on public assistance, that we do want to establish in America a minimum way of life below which no one shall fall.

THE SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT

BILLION-DOLLAR DILEMMA

KARL M. RUPPENTHAL

This is the first of a series of three articles on the supersonic transport. Succeeding articles will deal with several of the technical problems involved in the design, manufacture and operation of the aircraft, and with some broad social and economic problems. Mr. Ruppenthal has been a contributor to The Nation *for several years. An active airline pilot for twenty-fve years, and an attorney, he is director of the Transportation Management Program at Stanford University.*

With a stroke of the pen in 1963, Juan Trippe declared war on the Boeing 707, the Douglas DC-8, and all other subsonic transports that now fill the air. Placing an order for six Concordes, the chairman of the board of Pan American World Airways relit the fuse on a bomb that had been quiescent since an Anglo-French combination, with the financial backing of their respective governments, announced that they would develop a plane to fly at Mach 2—or twice the speed of sound and appreciably more than twice the speed of presently operating commercial jets.

The first important reaction to Trippe's decision came from the President of the United States. Just one week after Pan American announced the placing of its order, John F. Kennedy authorized a major study of the supersonic transport (SST). And from this there followed a series of revolutionary events, the full effect of which will not be felt for years to come.

The SST will present all of the airlines with gigantic economic problems. In some cases the problems will be so severe that the airlines will forget their pride, together with their touted free-enterprise philosophy, and ask unabashedly for government subsidy. Other airlines will reluctantly merge or sell out; still others may simply go broke.

The revolution will force the Federal Aviation Agency to make new expenditures aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars, and the sheer volume of money required will increase the federal role in all phases of aviation. The government will be called upon to pay for most of the research and development required for the SST itself. It will also be required to develop and install new and complex navigation systems. It will be called upon to provide funds for new airports, new terminal facilities and for new safety devices. It may be asked to train pilots, to control traffic, to underwrite insurance, and to finance dozens of other ancillary projects. So great will be the demand for federal funds, and so great the government participation in all aspects of the supersonic project, that the aviation industry as a whole will need to develop some remarkable corporate agility if any aspect of private enterprise whatsoever is to be maintained.

The supersonic revolution will have an important impact on the United States in a host of other ways. It will add measurably to the balance of payments controversy; it will be a disquieting influence on living patterns; it will become the center of another controversy with Britain, France and many of the other nations of the world. It may be an important factor in determining whether there shall be continuing boom, widespread land speculation or large-scale unemployment in Los Angeles, Seattle and Hartford. Although the Federal Aviation Agency has indicated that Boeing will receive the prime contract for the air frame, and General Electric will build the engines, component parts will be made by subcontractors. Boeing's decision to subcontract certain systems and components will depend, in part, on its own ability to produce them. If the SST timetable indicates urgency, Boeing will be forced to subcontract large systems because of the shortage of labor and engineering talent in the Seattle area.

Should Johnson assign the program an urgent priority, he might well give Ronald Reagan the biggest boost he could possibly get. Boeing's subcontracting could add new jobs to an already swollen economy in Southern California. It could stimulate the real estate market, bringing higher prices, additional commissions and more sales. Reagan could claim credit for the increased level of business in the state, leaving post-boom problems for another administration to face.

The pending supersonic step in the evolution of aircraft is so large that physicists would term it a quantum jump. This leap through the sound barrier will shatter much of the aircraft industry, several of the airlines and the peace and quiet of much of the world.

Always before in the progress of aviation, measurabl

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alternatives have been available to the airline industry. When the DC-3 was obsolescent, the manufacturers and the airline industry could make rational decisions concerning the planes that were proposed. A rather simple, basic issue was involved: would the airlines be justified in buying planes that were larger, faster and more productive? Was there a reasonable prospect that increased capital expenditures could be amortized through additional speed, additional lift and related economies? Could the greater capacity be absorbed? What new-plane problems could be anticipated, and what would be the probable cost of their solution? In short, the question was resolved by balancing the costs of designing, building and operating a projected new plane against the revenues that could reasonably be anticipated from improvements in comfort, economy and speed.

Thus the decision to graduate from the DC-3 to the DC-4 was relatively easy to make. While the later plane required a larger capital investment for each ship purchased, it offered considerably lower seat-mile costs. It was a more efficient plane. The same basic factors operated in the decision to drop the DC-4 in favor of the faster, more efficient DC-6 (and its competing plane, the Lockheed Constellation).

In the pre-jet days, the relationship between speed and initial cost was almost linear. Thus an airline could decide whether to increase its investment in aircraft, say, 10 per cent, in order to achieve a 5 per cent increase in speed. But when we enter the supersonic age, the old cost-speed equation will no longer apply. It will become entangled in a variety of complex physical laws and the airline industry will have much more difficult choices to make.

Basic to the problem is the fact that present jets now cruise at speeds slightly less than the speed of sound —usually in the range between Mach .80 and Mach .86. Because of the nature of the turbulence (and other phenomena) associated with flying at and near the speed of Mach 1, it is not practical to think in terms of small increases in speed. And since it is similarly impractical to think in terms of Mach 1.2 or Mach 1.5, the only real question is whether the next generation of jets should cruise at speeds on the order of Mach 2 or Mach 3—that is, at twice or three times the speed of sound.

In 1963 when it was first seriously proposed that the United States taxpayers might underwrite the cost of developing a supersonic transport, it was often stated that the development cost of the aircraft would approximate $1 billion. After some behind-the-scenes fencing, the SST project was taken from the Federal Aviation Agency and placed in the hands of the Defense Department. Subsequent meetings of the SST study committee were held in secret, and all that transpired is not a matter of public record. However, James P. Mitchell, vice president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, who had served on an earlier study committee, indicated in 1964 that the $1 billion research and development figure was about right. Another member of that committee was reported in *The New York Times* as saying that the development cost would be from $600 million to $1.2 billion.

In those days, spokesmen for the Kennedy administration suggested that the federal government might be willing to finance 75 per cent of the project, but that notion brought forth anguished cries from the aircraft manufacturers. They pointed out that if the industry were to invest all of its profits for a decade, it would still be unable to come up with that amount of cash. There was some public debate and a good bit of private maneuvering. Eventually the government proposed that the taxpayer finance 90 per cent of the preliminary costs (in practice, it would come to higher than this, since the aircraft industry, as long as it was making a profit in other areas, could deduct its 10 per cent share of the R&D costs from gross taxable income). The public was assured at the same time that the SST was certain to be a sound investment and that their tax money would be returned to them—with handsome interest to boot.

Evidently the financial community is not so sure. Although many investors eagerly seek situations in which a good bit of risk is coupled with quite high returns, no investment banker has yet suggested forming a consortium for the private financing of the supersonic plane. Indeed, one reputable investment banker has stated that without the underpinning of a government guarantee, such securities would have virtually no investment standing.

That judgment is supported by the fact that though development costs of earlier planes were minuscule compared with estimates for the SST, Lockheed was reported to have lost some $90 million on its executive jet, the Jet Star, in 1966 alone. It lost some $50 million on the Electra, although it is a very efficient craft and 188 of them were sold. And General Dynamics lost some $400 million on its 880s and 990s—the only commercial jets that company has yet produced.

Meanwhile the estimate for SST research and development costs has increased. The $1 billion figure most commonly quoted in 1963 (when the aircraft manufacturers indicated that they could not possibly finance 25 per cent of the costs) was soon doubled. In January, 1967, both *The Wall Street Journal* and the Transportation Association of America were talking of $4.5 billion. The magnitude of this figure can be appreciated when one considers that it is twice the New York Stock Exchange value of all the shares of Lockheed and Boeing combined. It is eighty times the highest net profit ever reported by any airline in a single year, and something like twenty times Boeing's total corporate debt.

While $2 billion or $3 billion or $4 billion may cover the research and development costs of the project, it will not provide the airlines with planes. And some financial analysts question whether even the $4 billion R&D figure will really be enough. Government-financed projects are notorious for exceeding their estimates, and projects that venture into new and relatively unknown areas are subject to wider errors of estimate than are projects in more traveled fields.

But suppose, to be very optimistic, that the research and development costs of the supersonic transport can be held to about $2 billion, as some of its proponents now believe. Under one system of accounting it might be presumed that such costs should be spread over the total time span in which this particular plane may be produced

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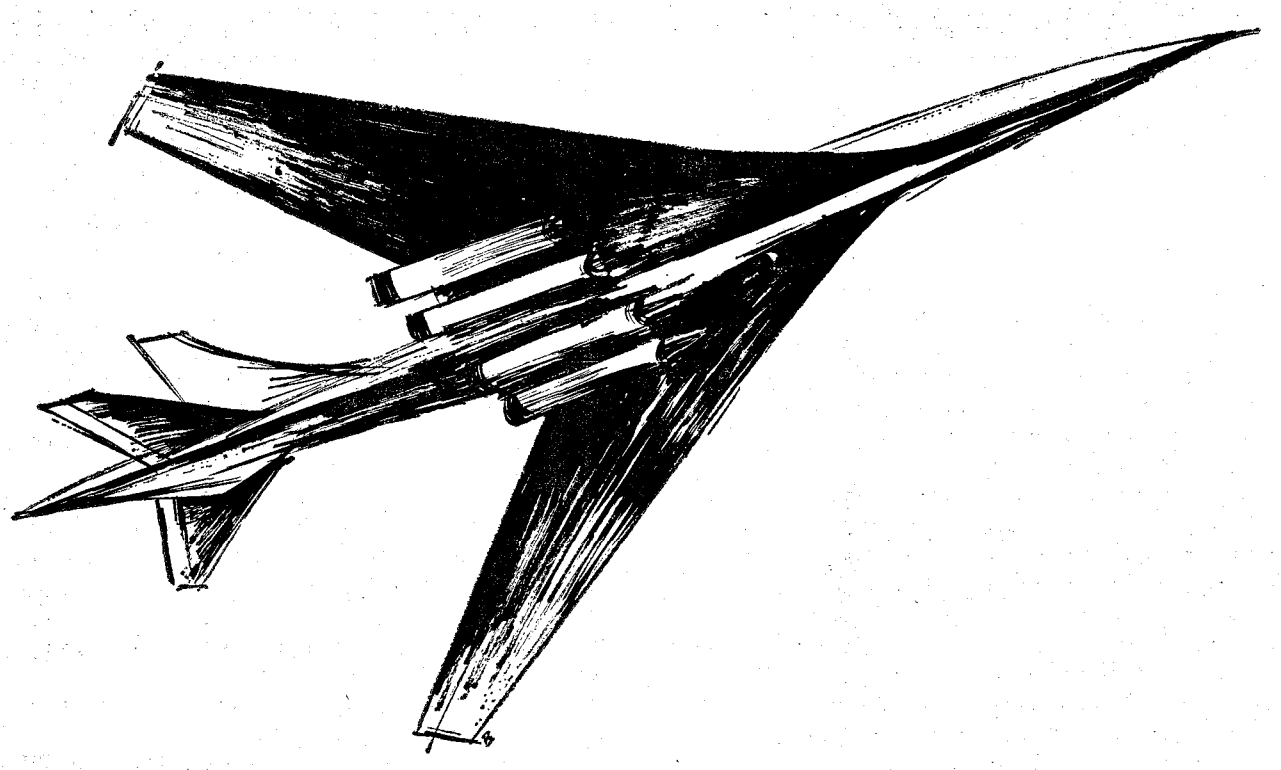

—say the next ten years. That would mean that each supersonic transport built in the United States over the next decade would be charged with a portion of the costs of research and development. If, for instance, only 100 such transports were built, each of them would be charged with $20 million in research costs, in addition to the cost of manufacturing each plane. If 1,000 planes could be sold, the R&D costs assigned to each plane would be but $2 million. This means that to set a realistic price on the planes, one must know not only the probable cost of manufacture and the total cost of research and development but also the number of planes likely to be sold.

There is considerable variation of opinion about the potential market. One aircraft executive estimated that some 900 SSTs could be sold by 1985, but other estimates are much more pessimistic. An important—and as yet undecided—factor is whether or not supersonic flights will be permitted over land. If they are restricted to over-water routes, the market for the plane will be sharply reduced. Another aircraft executive indicated on a C.B.S. broadcast that if the plane were restricted to over-water routes, the market would be reduced to some 585 craft. That would almost double the amount of research and development costs to be allocated to each plane and, of course, there is no guarantee that even this estimate of the market is correct.

It is worth noting that the aircraft industry has on occasion been too enthusiastic in its sales forecasts and too conservative in its cost estimates. Probably the most spectacular example of this wishful tendency was demonstrated by General Dynamics. According to an article in *Fortune*, the company produced its 880 jets in the face of its own studies indicating that the market was too small to return a profit. The result was a staggering loss, a change of management and near bankruptcy.

Even the majestic Douglas Aircraft Company, once undisputed world leader in the field of transport aircraft, has had its problems. Although Douglas had a respectable backlog of orders for its DC-8 and DC-9 jets, the company recently faced severe financial problems, and there were alarming indications that it might be unable to make good on its delivery commitments to the armed forces without a substantial infusion of government money. For a time it appeared that it might be necessary for the government, in effect, to co-sign Douglas' note at the bank. Only the rescue operations performed by McDonnell Aircraft made that government guarantee unnecessary.

But that crisis made an effective point: once the government has invested billions of taxpayers' money in a given project, it is not likely to pull out merely because preliminary cost estimates were too low. Someone in Congress will always raise the cry that since so much money already has been invested, additional funds must be spent.

It is true that SST advocates forecast that the taxpayers will recover the funds invested on the research and development of the supersonic transport. Some propose that these costs be charged directly against the planes, the tag to be set accordingly. Others feel that since the cost of manufacture will in itself be exceedingly high, it might not be prudent to increase the selling price of each aircraft by such a substantial amount. Too high a price would surely shrink the total market for the planes and thus make them even more difficult to sell. These people would prefer that the government recover its research and development expenditures through a monthly royalty charged against the operations of the planes.

But slice it as you will, there is no doubt that the taxpayers would bear the financial risks of the project. They will be called upon to pick up the tab if the market estimates are overly optimistic, if an airline is unable t

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make its royalty payments, or if the aircraft manufacturer falls upon evil days. That is the history of government guarantees in almost every field of endeavor.

While a monthly royalty device for recouping the taxpayers' investment has certain appeal (after all, much of the U.S. economy is based on the idea of buy now, pay later), it raises the problem of the value of money itself. If the taxpayers invest a dollar in a project today, it cannot be fairly said that they have made a sound investment if but a single dollar is returned to them a decade hence. If that same dollar were deposited in a reputable savings and loan association, it would double in a decade. And if it were prudently invested in the electronics industry, the chemical industry—or, indeed, in airline stocks—there is a high probability that its value would be a good bit more.

Their economic studies challenged by a number of economists (allegedly including some from the Bureau of the Budget), most SST proponents will no longer say precisely how the taxpayers will be repaid. Recent statements indicate that the repayment may not be in dollars channeled directly from the project into the treasury, but that much of the repayment may come indirectly because the project will stimulate employment, and increased employment will increase the flow of income tax dollars.

Af course this economic argument is not new. It was nade by Lord Keynes a good many years ago when he pointed out that government spending could stimulate economic activity. The real question to be decided is vhich vehicles for government spending are most efficient in this respect, and there is reason to believe that other government-financed projects could be used at least qually well to stimulate economic activity and thus the low of tax dollars.

The magnitude of the cost of the SST program omes into better perspective when one considers costs om the viewpoint of the carriers. Just twenty-five years go an airline could buy a DC-3 for $125,000; today, single spare engine for a subsonic jet costs at least vice that amount. With the advent of the jet age less ıan a decade ago, the airlines fell under severe financial ressure. So great were the problems surrounding the ıtroduction of the jets that it was not at all certain that veral of the major airlines could afford the price. Virıally every one of the major European carriers incurred ıbstantial losses. In more than one instance the prospect recovering the losses was so slim that they were simply ritten off by the government that was the principal (or ole) stockholder in the line.

In the United States the financial picture was so bleak at four major airlines—American, Eastern, Pan Ameriın and TWA—publicly announced merger plans. Alost every other U.S. airline made serious merger studies, though many of these activities were never revealed to e press. It was not until the general level of business tivity rose to new heights that the U.S. airlines moved ıt of real danger. Had the business boom been delayed r another year or two, several airlines would have ased to exist—at least in their present form.

The stakes will be much higher, and the ante far greater, when the airlines begin to play the supersonic game. At the present time it is estimated that a single supersonic plane may cost on the order of $45 million. This is just a little less than the entire after-tax profits that any airline has ever reported in its most profitable year. Of course airline revenues have been increasing at a rapid rate and are still rising. But even if the present growth rate continues, gigantic problems must be surmounted before an airline can equip itself with a fleet of supersonic transports. Any major U.S. airline will have to dedicate its entire net profits for at least a decade to the purchase of supersonic transports, unless profit margins can be improved, the tax burden reduced, or substantial funds made available from other sources. If total airline earnings are dedicated to SST purchases, the stockholders may become restive and complain that they have been starved of dividends in order to provide the public with an exceedingly fast ride.

While the financing problems for the major airlines will be severe when the supersonic transports begin to arrive, they will seem trivial by comparison with what the smaller U.S. carriers will face. Consider an aggressive, highly profitable trunk line like Continental. Its growth rate has been spectacular, its profits increasing at a prodigious rate. But in the most profitable year in all its history, its after-tax profits were on the order of $10 million—about one-fourth the probable cost of a single supersonic transport.

Most of these smaller carriers compete with at least one of the Big Four over important route segments. If the big carriers do indeed operate supersonic transports over the highly competitive routes, the middle-sized subsonic carriers may well be left standing at the post. If the proponents of the SST are correct in their assumption that the public will flock to the faster planes, those lines that do not have an extensive route structure, or the requisite financial resources to purchase supersonic equipment, will have severe competitive problems the like of which they have not yet experienced.

For survival they may attempt to merge with other troubled carriers. Failing in that attempt, they may be swallowed up by the lines that have routes suitable for supersonic operations. If they do not merge and are not swallowed up, their financial situation may become so precarious that they will begin to exist on government subsidy, or simply turn up their toes and go bankrupt.

The local service carriers, too, may well be caught up in the blast of the supersonic jet. Consider the affluent passenger who alights in Seattle from his two-hour cross-country flight from New York. Will he be content to spend a like amount of time getting from Seattle to his destination airport near Pocatello, Boise or Spokane? And how will the local service carriers respond?

While all of the effects upon the airlines themselves cannot be forecast completely at this time, it is safe to predict that because of the sheer magnitude of the dollars involved, the advent of the supersonic transport will inevitably result in a much smaller number of airlines in the United States, and much greater concentration in the industry.

As for the aircraft manufacturers, the forecast is even more bleak. If the supersonic transport should be com-

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mercially successful, it may well drive from the skies the slower, subsonic jets—and their manufacturers. The result would be even greater attrition in the ranks of the commercial plane producers, whose death rate has already been substantial. Now gone from the ranks of commercial aircraft builders are such once familiar names as Martin and Convair (General Dynamics). Douglas has had its problems, and it is not at all certain that relatively affluent Lockheed will attempt to build another commercial plane.

This tendency toward concentration would certainly be increased with the advent of a supersonic transport that is successful in an economic sense. It could even be that but one or two large aircraft complexes would remain: the prime contractors who design and manufacture the aircraft together with their respective (client) subcontractors. If a completely successful supersonic transport is actually built, there may be little demand for competing, subsonic planes.

The utility of the supersonic transport is indeed a two-edged sword: if the plane is suitable for a relatively small number of airline routes and can operate only from a limited number of airports, it may be an economic disaster for the manufacturers and for the taxpayers who put up most of the money. On the other hand, if the manufacturers are able to come up with a versatile craft, capable of operating quietly and efficiently over a large number of airline routes, and able to satisfy the demands of a large portion of the traveling and shipping public, then its effect may be to destroy much of the value of presently operating subsonic aircraft and to create another set of problems for the airlines and for their financial backers who hold substantial mortgages on the aircraft that are presently flying.

SDS: PROTEST IS NOT ENOUGH

RICHARD BLUMENTHAL
Mr. Blumenthal, who graduates from Harvard this spring, has been editorial chairman of The Harvard Crimson *and a reporter for* The Washington Post.

Members of Students for a Democratic Society marched last month in the Spring Mobilization, and cheered faithfully when Stokely Carmichael denounced the "cruel and senseless" war in Vietnam. But they demonstrated without the high expectations and hopes of past protests. SDS did not participate in organizing the march, refused initially to endorse it, and finally came to support it only ten days before it was scheduled to occur. Both the mood of the marchers and the attitude of their organization reflected a significant shift of strategy within SDS.

In building a movement for radical social change, SDS is turning from the tactics of protest and confrontation —marches, pickets and sit-ins—to those of organization and resistance. Although the students will continue to utilize dramatic, "one-shot" incidents of protest to attract publicity and membership, they are shifting, as national vice president, Carl Davidson, puts it, "to dig in for the long haul, to become full-time, radical, sustained, relevant." Marches, says a Chicago SDSer, "are just not enough. They won't stop this war. More important, they won't stop the military-industrial complex, the powerful institutions that decide the fate of people in this country. . . . We must do more than marching."

The shift in tactics is an attempt to extend the organization's appeal to new constituencies beyond the campus. While SDS has always aimed at inspiring a "broad-based" movement, it is now consciously appealing to adults, particularly among both the middle and working classes, and planning to increase such activities in the future. In organizing these groups, SDS is endeavoring to develop an "ideology"—a more systematic theory of social change for the American power structure.

The new approach signifies the beginning of a third stage in the development of the New Left organization. At the beginning, following its break with the parent League for Industrial Democracy, SDS stressed community organizing among people excluded from the system; mainly Negroes and poor whites. Members opened a Community Union Project in Newark, financed by the United Auto Workers, and built similar Economic Research and Action projects (ERAP) in other cities. Since 1965, however, SDS has concentrated almost entirely on students, and its main issues have been the war in Vietnam, the draft and "student power." During this second stage, it has endeavored, primarily by protest and confrontation, to organize new chapters on campuses throughout the country.

The organization has grown in the past two years from 1,200 national members in thirty chapters to more than 6,000 in 227 chapters. There are now, in addition to these national members, about 30,000 chapter members who participate in the activities of local groups but do not pay national dues. The organization employs a national staff of ten in Chicago, with nine traveling organizers (soon to be increased to thirty-nine) in the field. But most of the new chapters were organized by local student radicals without help from the parent organization. "They write us and say they've got this chapter and ask to be recognized," says national chapter correspondent, John Veneziale. "Sometimes they wait for months before contacting us—there are probably a lot we still don't know about." Membership is now growing most rapidly in smaller institutions, state teachers' colleges and junior colleges, particularly in the Midwest.

With the tactics of direct action—picketing, campus recruitment by war-oriented corporations or sitting-in against university social rules—SDS has appealed to a vague sense of alienation among students, without defining a radical ideology. Unlike the old Left, which spent much energy on theory and analysis, SDS has been purposely anti-ideological, even anti-intellectual. Men

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bers have tried, as national secretary, Greg Calvert, puts it, to "build a movement out of people's guts." Rejecting the dogmatism of the old Socialist and Communist parties, they have stretched their ideological tent to include anyone feeling the frustration and anomie of "dehumanizing" modern society.

Their evolving ideology, such as it is, focuses on the inability of the individual to make meaningful decisions in society. Individuals, according to the SDS analysis, are deprived of power over their own lives by a corporate elite which manipulates human beings economically and politically. The few who own the means of production, in alliance with the military, control all aspects of society. Their crass materialistic values reduce human beings to "consumers of things." This depersonalization, combined with the separation of most people from power, produces a sense of apathy and resignation.

In place of this structure of decision making, SDS proposes "participatory democracy"—a decentralized system without real leaders in which every man would have an equal voice. It strongly rejects the contention of liberals that reform can be achieved through established parliamentary institutions. Numbers of supporters—or votes—do not count for political strength, since "representative" bodies only disguise manipulation by the industrial-military elite. Thus, the so-called "new middle"—a group of student leaders who recently wrote President Johnson expressing "responsible" doubts about the war—fails to recognize that the Vietnamese conflict is only one manifestation of a corrupt structure, and that it will be followed by other imperialist ventures unless the system is radically altered. SDS members spurn coalitions with such liberal groups, fearing that their radicalism will be diluted.

The reliance on action—confrontation and protest—rather than ideology has enabled SDS in the middle phase of its development to include a wide variety of personalities and interests. The organization can claim as members blue-collar militants of the Progressive Labor Party, as well as three-piece-suit liberals from ADA. There are anarchist hippies, humanists, Communists and an increasing number of former members of Young Americans for Freedom, a libertarian laissez-faire capitalist group. About 85 per cent of the membership, according to Davidson, serves merely as "shock troops." These are younger members, usually in the "long-hair Bobby Dylan syndrome," who turn out for demonstrations but do not go beyond gut reactions to a systematic critique of society. Davidson classifies the remaining 15 per cent in two groups: the "super-intellectuals" and the "organizers." The intellectuals, mainly graduate students, dominate the discussions. The organizers are full-time, professional radicals.

And yet, despite the apparent success of their past approach in augmenting this diverse membership, many SDSers now believe that the organization must develop a longer-range strategy. The tactics of confrontation have gained headlines but have not altered government policies. Most members regard anti-war activity with a mounting sense of frustration and impotence. They often begin speeches with the disclaimer: "Well, probably nothing we can do now will prevent escalation. . . ." And many fear that the radical commitments of the membership will wane unless it comes to view short-run setbacks in a longer-range "critical radical perspective." If the shock troops do not understand tactics in terms of a consistent and systematic radical analysis, they will eventually desert the movement.

The intellectuals worry that most members of SDS have yet to shed the bourgeois outlook and prejudices of their middle-class upbringing. "In fact, most students hold a kind of dogged career-oriented conception of their lives which would do their parents proud," observed Paul Potter, a past SDS president, and Hal Benenson, of the Harvard chapter, in a recent paper on the "critical radical perspective." Despite the radical rhetoric and slogans, "there is very little comprehension of what the words that are slung around mean either as descriptions of the society or as prescriptions for action." Most SDSers, they observed, still accept the notion that "getting a majority of people to vote for something creates a force for change"; that the United States will eliminate poverty without radically changing, and that the country cannot lose the war in Vietnam if it employs its superior military power. "In a very real way," they note, "rhetoric without content breeds the politics of despair and nihilism. The slogans we use acutely heighten our sense of distance and radical alienation . . . the failure of these slogans to specify any content also heightens our sense of desperateness and impotence."

The weakness of SDS ideology not only imperils the commitment of students, the intellectuals believe, but also prevents the organization from making a meaningful appeal to adults and thus filling the hole created by the departing parties of the Left. The collapse of the adult Left during the 1950s, they argue, has left radicals without a meaningful political organization. Neither the present Communist Party nor the Progressive Labor Party (Maoist) comprehends the real needs and problems of modern Americans. Communism is no longer radical: it aims to get power through the electoral process—in other words, working within the system—and supports liberal measures such as Social Security and Medicare. Progressive Labor, on the other hand, fails to fit radical ideology to the American experience: it misunderstands the mentality of the working class, relies on puritanical cadre-like organization, secrecy and dictatorial leadership. Neither the revisionists (CP) nor the Maoists (PL) accept truly democratic methods of decision making internally, and both groups have grubby, materialistic values. But in order to build a movement among adults who are repelled by the old Left and alienated from present society, SDS must develop an entirely new ideology. It must show these adults how their personal sense of alienation relates to the overall structure of decision making. "To reach these people," says Calvert, "we must involve them on the basic level of their own lives."

The need for ideology when shifting to noncampus activity was discussed at a meeting of the National Council of SDS in Cambridge during the first week of April. At the last national meeting in December, almost all the workshops preceding the official sessions had dealt with issues and problems of campus organization. In April,

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only one ("Curriculum Reform") concerned the university; the rest dealt with subjects like "Labor Strategy," "Middle-Class Community Organizing" and "Organizing Professions." Only eight delegates showed up for the curriculum workshop and most felt—as at least three stated explicitly—that the university would be "the last place to change." They believed that the educational system, as Paul Millman of Antioch said, "is as necessary to the power structure as any other part of society, and just as tightly controlled by the elite." Benenson and Potter warned against "separatism among students, and against student power activity" which "has had the effect of isolating the campus movement in some ways." The impulse to develop a new ideology was reflected in the decision to bring the Radical Education Project (REP) to Chicago and place it under the control of the national office. REP is the formal publishing and theoretical organ of SDS—one member calls it the radical equivalent of the RAND Corporation—and was set up in Ann Arbor as a semi-autonomous unit, for tax purposes, in 1966.

At the council workshops, Cambridge chapter members described projects in organizing unions among local hospital workers. Kim Moody of New York discussed his attempts to radicalize the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees by working within Local 1412. A representative of the American Friends Service Committee talked about radicalizing technicians in Cambridge corporations: "They feel they aren't allowed to work on the most significant kinds of problems. . . . You talk about Vietnam and start a kind of systems analysis of social objectives." Other delegates discussed attempts to organize middle-class neighborhoods in Boston against the war.

The new constituencies to which SDS now hopes to appeal are unlike those it worked with in its organizing activities during the first stage of the movement —they are primarily people involved in the system, rather than those frozen out of it. SDS must speak, Carl Davidson argues, primarily to the working class and "new working class," while continuing to recognize the problems of the underclass (the poor, disabled and chronically unemployed). The traditional working class, comprising skilled as well as unskilled blue-collar labor, has always been a source of political power for radical movements. But the number of people in this class is declining relative to the new working class—white-collar technicians, scientists, teachers and others who work at the bottom rungs of huge corporate bureaucracies. And these "new" workers, Davidson says, are the "most exploited" people in the entire system. Though well trained and imaginative, they have little or no control over the work they are assigned, and therefore no outlet for creative expression. They are dominated, along with the underclass and working class, by the three other groups: the middle class (petty bourgeois owners of small business), the subruling class (politicians, corporation and university presidents) and the ruling class (owners of the means of production).

Discussion at the national convention indicated that there are important disagreements within SDS on this new approach. The effort to develop an ideology and push off-campus is supported by the national staff and most of the older chapters in Boston, Berkeley, New York and Ann Arbor. But many newer members believe that SDS should remain primarily a student organization, engaged for the most part in the tactics of confrontation. In the areas where membership is growing most rapidly, students have had little or no previous experience with radical ideas or political organizing. Many of these chapters are located in rural areas, away from urban centers of the working and underclasses. "There has always been this split between those who see SDS as primarily a student organization and those who see it as the main party of the Left," says Lee Webb, a past national secretary, "and now it's coming more and more into the open."

The split, moveover, is only one of a series of problems that SDS intellectuals say the organization must solve when shifting tactics and developing an ideology. First, aside from differences resulting from age, SDS is likely to reveal genuine political differences among its members as it attempts to define more clearly a program for social change. Second, assuming SDS can develop a radical movement among adults, it must decide whether to absorb them into the present organization or split them off into a "Movement for a Democratic Society." In either case, students will risk domination by the older radicals. Third, there may be very serious limits to the application of participatory democracy to larger memberships. At the national council meeting, SDS members from the newer chapters complained that the participatory democracy of the session was "not even as democratic as most forms of representative democracy." The proceedings, complained Craig Livingston, of Rutgers Law School, were "dominated by an elite meeting in committee and bringing proposals before the body." The larger the number of participants, the more difficult consensus decision making becomes. Fourth, SDS lacks the money to support a substantial organizing drive. It now operates with a budget of $80,000 a year—one-tenth that of the National Student Association.

In addition to these internal problems, SDS will raise substantial conflicts of ideology in appealing simultaneously to the two exploited classes it seeks to organize. If past projects in labor union organizing are any guide, SDS will organize the working class around bread and butter issues—steady jobs, higher wages and better working conditions. It will urge laborers to join unions and gain power over their employers as a means to increases in material welfare and higher standards of consumption. The power it urges the new working class to achieve will depend on very different values. The enemy will be the same corporate elite and the exploitive bureaucratic structure, but decisions will relate much more to the quality of life and work, and power will be exercised in accordance with an ethic that consciously rejects the goals of higher consumption and materialistic satisfaction. Radical change, in this case, will not only replace the present owners of the means of production but will challenge the entire ethic which makes such ownership worth while. For SDSers reject the "crass materialism" of present society—the values, as Greg Calvert notes, that "transform people into consumers of things." They reject the statistical economic indices of the government—employment

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rates, gross national product, etc.—as true measures of the quality of life. The "main and transcending" concern of society, Tom Hayden has written, "must be the unfolding and refinement of the moral, aesthetic and logical capacities of men in a manner that creates genuine independence." Whatever the meaning of that goal for the individual man, it surely will not be equivalent automatically to a house in the country and a two-car garage. Yet these higher standards of consumption appear to be the present goal of the new working class—and, even more strongly, of the working class.

How can SDS use these values to organize the working class and, at the same time, re-educate the middle class out of them? SDS organizers argue that after the working class reaches a decent standard of living and gains control over the means of production, laborers will see the futility of unlimited material aspiration and acquire a "revolutionary consciousness." But such predictions cannot be proved, and the fact is that many of the "new" workers who have reached decent levels of consumption aspire vigorously to the middle-class style of life. There remains, then, the problem of how to alter the values of teachers and technicians who have been indoctrinated by the system. It is possible that alienation about assignments on the job, and discontent about the Vietnamese War may be translated into an understanding of the faults of the entire system. But it is questionable whether such "knowledge" can lead to a genuine commitment to radical change among individuals who are already career oriented, who have settled down with a wife, children and mortgage after long years of train-

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ing, and who are at the beginning of the income trajectory. The least successful SDS projects so far, as SDS intellectuals are aware, have been those dealing with the middle class.

There are serious problems, furthermore, with the system of decision making which SDS would urge both classes to substitute for the present one. Participatory democracy, critics argue, is a vague and utopian notion that could never provide a workable system of government for society on a mass scale. In reply, SDSers allude to control by workers in cooperative factories, and to town meetings. But aside from the question of practicability, the notion has serious weaknesses even in theory. For it appears to depend on an underlying consensus in values and interests that runs directly against the pluralism and freedom which SDSers value so highly. The student radicals believe that meetings should produce a unanimity of viewpoint; yet they also prize a rebellious, strong-willed individualism and independence of mind. It is not surprising, then, that Carl Davidson says that "in most places the basis for participatory democracy just doesn't exist." "In many ways," observes a paper reprinted by SDS, "the procedural safeguards of a parliamentary system insure the rights of the dissenter and promote the idea of speaking to educate (rather than sway) much better than a 'sense of the meeting' system."

The issues of how to change values and accommodate different interests within society lead student radicals to the question of how they as individuals can be *in*, but not *of*, an authoritarian world—how they can function as citizens and job holders in a society of corporate elitism (thereby contributing to it economically) and yet remain radicals. Some deny the possibility: "I don't think that you can move out and take those jobs and adopt a bourgeois life style and still be part of the movement," says Greg Calvert. "So far as I'm concerned there is no radical movement among adults today." Others believe that it can be accomplished, and contend that the movement must produce radical professionals, not just professional radicals. SDS, they argue, must foster a commitment to radicalism among teachers, scientists and lawyers who will continue working for social change after they begin their careers, as well as among the full-time community organizers who devote their lives to the movement. In assessing the value of a particular tactic, they weigh heavily its psychological effect on the individuals who participate. Arguing, for example, in favor of massive civil disobedience if the United States invades North Vietnam, Paul Potter says: "It has been shown that the experience of going to jail changes people . . . changes their perceptions of themselves and their perception of the system."

Every member thus faces on a personal level the dilemma which the organization must face as a whole: how to be politically effective yet morally consistent—avoid manipulation and compromise, but still maintain effective communication with others. It is a dilemma that has always plagued radical movements, but it is particularly trying for one that takes spiritual goodness as a political imperative. The tension often turns SDSers away from the frustrating task of developing a long-range strategy, back to the only measure of tactics that appears genuine and spontaneous: the "gut reaction." "We don't want to put together some big blueprint for the future," says Carl Davidson. "Now wouldn't it be presumptuous for anyone, with all the hang-ups people have, to say what the future ought to be?" SDS intellectuals understand these problems, and are working desperately to find solutions. But at the moment, the organization remains truly leaderless, leaving each member to express his commitment as he sees fit. The latest button which SDSers wear to announce their resistance to the draft sums it up: "Not with *my* life you don't."

LETTERS *(Continued from page 642)*

underprivileged schools where they tutor the students on a student-to-student basis. Another example is the Student Volunteer Service. The volunteers journey, every two weeks, to the Chicago State Mental Hospital with their gifts and toys and good intentions in order to give of themselves some time and effort and, through games, songs and conversation, offer to the patients outlets for escape from their lonely worlds of unreality. Overpowered by his strong emotions, Mr. Oudes abandoned a possibly correct view and succumbed to obvious trick techniques.

Christina Bytautas

General Hester

Davidson, N. C.

DEAR SIRS: Your honor roll of military "plain talkers" in your Apr. 17 editorial should have included Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U. S. Army (Ret.). General Hester has consistently and frequently written and spoken against our insane policy in Vietnam and before that against the cold war that sowed the seeds of which Vietnam is the harvest. For this great service to the welfare of his country, General Hester has received mostly criticism and calumny; journals like *The Nation* should miss no opportunity to give him the praise and recognition he has earned.

E. F. Patterson

misread violence

Larchmont, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: Elmer Bendiner's remark ["America Absurd," *The Nation*, Apr. 3] that New York Bowery thugs organized as ferocious gangs became a fifth column for the Confederacy is a simplistic misreading of Civil War history. The long-unemployed and impoverished immigrants —mainly Irish—were unwilling to surrender their newly found jobs and opportunity for a better life, in order to be drafted. The iniquitous Civil War draft, with paid substitutes, etc., favored the rich. There was also fear that the liberated slaves would come North and depress wages. To call these draft riots a "ghastly lynching spree" is as inadequate as summarizing Watts as a looting rampage. Much more was involved. *Moses Cammer*

Alvin Johnson

New York City

DEAR SIRS: A collection is being made of the articles and letters, both personal and official, of Dr. Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus of The New School for Social Research. Will anyone possessing such material kindly send it to Mrs. Agnes deLima, c/o The New School for Social Research, 66 West 12 Street, New York, N. Y. 10011.

Agnes deLima

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

'The Absurdity of the Jewish Condition'

THE JEWS OF SILENCE: A Personal Report on Soviet Jewry. *By Elie Wiesel. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 143 pp. $4.95.*

THE LIBERATION OF THE JEW. *By Albert Memmi. The Orion Press. 303 pp. $4.95.*

DAVID JORAVSKY

Mr. Joravsky teaches history at Northwestern University. He is the author of Soviet Marxism and Natural Science *(Columbia University Press).*

Elie Wiesel and Albert Memmi are both professional Jews, which is another way of saying that Jewishness is a very elusive quality. It can hardly be identified with Judaism, the Jewish religion. Wiesel breathes holy fire; Memmi douses it with observed fact. Here is Memmi:

> We don't believe in all that any more? The modern Jew, even with his televised rabbis, does not seriously hope for a marvelous saviour who will lead him out of his wretchedness? No longer claims his election by God for an exceptional destiny? No longer claims a glorious mission, other than that of remaining faithful to a vague kind of morality? So be it; then let us dare to draw the proper conclusion: *Judaism, as a doctrine, survives as a series of ambiguities.*

Wiesel wants to believe the opposite, but he cannot:

> I am still waiting to see tens of thousands of Jews singing and dancing in Times Square or the Place de l'Etoile as they danced here, in the heart of Moscow, on the night of Simchat Torah.

He concludes that only Soviet Jews hold to the true faith, because only they are isolated and oppressed:

> Only they—because they have yet to give up the dream—only they still look for the coming of the Messiah, despite the unbearable pain that accompanies the birth of redemption. Only they—because they have suffered more than all the rest and are worthier than all the rest of the blessing of peace and salvation. Only they—because they have remained alone.

Wiesel is too agitated to be a reliable reporter, and the faith he attributes to Soviet Jews may seem rather Christian, but let us not get too involved. The obvious point is that Jews tend to lose their distinctive character in "privileged countries where the word Jew is not a mark of shame." They get to be like everyone else, only they go to church on Saturday. Even Wiesel is tempted by the dream of liberty, equality, fraternity. He wants to "force Moscow to accept Russian Jews as citizens with equal rights," that is, to end the isolation and persecution that sustain the old faith.

In any case, the historical fact is clear. The Enlightenment and the democratic revolutions have undermined the belief of Jews that they are chosen to hold a spiritual fortress against gentile assault until the true Messiah comes. The overwhelming majority of Jews leave the besieged life as soon as the gentiles offer a way out. They prefer peace in their own time, on almost any terms the gentiles offer. Memmi calls this "self-rejection." He doesn't bother with superficial things like beards, clothes or diet. He goes straight to such fundamentals as name, language, characteristic ideas and national allegiance. In all these essentials Jews come close to complete "self-rejection," but hold back at the very end, indulging in curiously ambiguous or whimsical acts of "self-acceptance"—like changing the name from Silverstein to Silvers, or arguing that Jewishness is an advantage because it is a burden. (Memmi quotes Freud giving that secularized relic of the belief that the Jews are God's elect.)

An ultimate contrariness—"negativity" is Memmi's term—seems to be the essence of Jewishness in our age of pallid religion and inflamed nationalisms. Ilya Ehrenburg, an irreligious Russian-speaking believer in Leninism, caused a minor sensation in the USSR by making a point of his Jewishness in his recent *Memoirs.* He is Jewish, he explains, in defiance of the anti-Semites. According to Memmi such efforts at "self-acceptance" are more honorable than efforts at total "self-rejection," but any reaction to the Jewish problem, defiance or flight, or the usual mixture of both, is a reaction to anti-Semitism. Whether we see the Jewish problem this way or that, or refuse to see it altogether, we are accomplices of the anti-Semites. They have made the world we all must live in, gentile, Jew and chameleon.

According to Memmi, Jewishness is not just a state of mind. It is also an objective condition, part of the facts of life. Like Sartre, he sees it as a peculiar case of the relationship between oppressors and oppressed. The oppressed cannot avoid some measure of shame and self-hatred, some desire to reject themselves and be like their oppressors:

> A few years ago a well-known writer coined an ambiguous formula, which for that very reason had immense success: "We must assume ourselves," people repeated with self-delighted daring. "We must assume our condition." Can one really accept oneself as a Jew? Can one really accept oneself as a proletarian or as a Negro? Really, this was a simple matter of not knowing the meaning of misery!

Memmi exaggerates—that will be the instant reaction of most people in "the privileged countries," which goes to show that these countries have been good to the Jews in recent years. Of course, there is a tinge of anti-Semitism in that last statement, for it implies that Jews are alien guests who may be treated well or poorly by the native gentiles. Shall we therefore ignore the fact that many Jews feel that way?

Upper-class gentiles might almost be defined as people who have a special gift for feeling that they belong, and belong on top, wherever they happen to settle or conquer. Until the French Revolution Jews could almost be defined as people with a special gift for feeling homeless and insecure, nervously grateful to the powerful gentiles who treated them well. Since the French Revolution there have been many proud, rebellious Jews, who spurn the old role of royal wards and seek their liberation in alliance with the Left. Memmi applauds such people, and takes it for granted that Jews must take their stand with the Left. But he insists that the old-fashioned Jews have a point: In the last analysis gentiles cannot be trusted; they can take back the tolerant welcome granted by their forefathers.

That is the starting point of Zionism, and Memmi goes on to the logical conclusion, in his book though not in his life:

> The Jew must be liberated from oppression, and Jewish culture must be liberated from religion. This double

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EMBROIDERY AT BAYEUX

Men fought with axes, panting, nose to nose.
Women with pretty stitches pictured those.
The severed head lies beaming, "I'm a rose!"

JOHN FREDERICK NIMS

liberation can be found in the same course of action—the fight for Israel. . . . It is our only way out, our only real card, and our last historical chance.

It is too easy to ridicule Memmi—he does it himself in order to prove the absurdity of the Jewish condition. He tells us that he is a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne, married to a blonde, Catholic Frenchwoman; he seems almost ashamed that the marriage has lasted. His heart is in Israel, but the rest of him stays in Paris, painting pictures of himself as the typical Jew, the utterly displaced person. (This is his fourth book on the subject.)

The oddest part is that the pictures are convincing. Memmi *is* an utterly displaced person. He was born and raised in Tunisia, where his forefathers had lived "since the Phoenicians." But Memmi could not feel at home. His native language was a Jewish version of Arabic, his people a despised minority within a majority that was itself despised by the French newcomers. He sympathized with the Arabs, struggling to regain their homeland from the French, but he adopted the language and culture of the French.

The Socialist and Communist Jews of Tunisia joined the Arab struggle for independence, only to find themselves, as the goal was reached, "eliminated quietly and radically, from every responsible post in their respective parties." And Memmi points to Soviet mistreatment of the Jews as evidence, similar to the Tunisian case, that "the revolution" cannot keep its promise of liberation and fraternity for Jew and gentile alike:

> We are insistently asked not to accuse this [Soviet] government of intentional anti-Semitism; granted. But what follows is even worse: it has become, in spite of itself, objectively anti-Semitic, as if by some internal fatality.

Memmi offers little evidence to support this assertion, and some of what he does offer is seriously wrong. "I will never be able to rid myself of a terrible doubt: would the Red Army have stood immobile at the gates of the Warsaw ghetto if it had not contained Jews alone?" The fact is that Catholic Poles were passive while Nazi Germans killed Jews in the Warsaw ghetto. The Red Army reached the Vistula more than a year later, and sat there while, across the river, Nazi Germans killed Catholic Poles. The terrible doubt, if we get the facts straight, was Yeats's in 1919:

The night can sweat with terror as before
We pieced our thoughts into philosophy,
And planned to bring the world under a rule,
Who are but weasels fighting in a hole.

Neither of the authors provides much evidence of Soviet anti-Semitism. On a hasty tour of Soviet synagogues, which is hardly the way to get a representative sample of Soviet Jewry, Wiesel was stricken with anger and despair. He is angry at the invisible "they" who oppress religious Jews; he is in despair over the comfortable Jews of the "privileged countries," who are indifferent, he believes, to the fate of their brethren keeping the true faith in a hostile Soviet world. He never makes clear just what he wants us to do beyond protesting, which everybody does already, or dancing in Times Square on Simchat Torah.

His tone is shrill, his testimony is slight, and some of it is wrong. For example, it is not true that Jews alone retain Stalinist fears of associating with foreigners, or timidly evade sensitive topics when they do find themselves talking with a stranger from the West. On one most serious matter Wiesel makes a most serious accusation without anything like adequate evidence. He grants that the analogy often drawn between Nazi and Soviet treatment of the Jews is "illogical, unfair, and unreal," but he contributes to that widespread mistake when he pictures the Ukraine as seething with the kind of murderous anti-Semitism that produced the famous massacre at Babi Yar. "Babi Yar *is* Kiev," he exclaims. "It is the entire Ukraine. And that is all one needs to see there."

Soviet mistreatment of the Jews is a fact, or rather a disorderly set of inconsistent facts, that reveal little truth to hasty observers. The most reliable, continuing study of the facts is provided by the periodical *Jews in Eastern Europe* (published by European Jewish Publications, Ltd., 31 Percy St., London, W. 1.). Their information, drawn mainly from the Soviet press, reveals that the mistreatment of Jews follows three patterns.

The Jewish religion is treated more harshly than any other except for those that are legally banned—Jehovah's Witnesses, the *Khlysty* (Flagellants is the literal translation, but Holy Rollers would be closer to the truth) and other sects.

Secular Yiddish culture, originally fostered by Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities and brutally extinguished by Stalin in his last years, has been denied equality with other minority cultures in the post-Stalin years.

In everyday life discrimination against Jews is widespread, a situation most dramatically evident in the "economic" trials publicized under Khrushchev.

The first and second patterns are efforts to force assimilation, which is self-contradictory, like forcing patriotism, but is not always self-defeating. The third pattern is an utterly inconsistent effort to mark the Jew and exclude him. The characteristic reaction of Soviet Jews—if one may generalize intuitively from fragments of information—is more anger than fear, more determination to win equal rights and dignity within the Soviet system than psychological rejection of it. I am here venturing onto very shaky ground, for one thing that the Soviet authorities will not allow is full, frank, public discussion of problems that they wish to consider completely solved. Thus the Jewish problem becomes part of the intellectuals' struggle for the right to discuss forbidden issues.

This is not one of the most sensitive issues, like the one-party system or the suppression of the Hungarian rising. It is a punishable crime to question those things. It was a bold but legitimate act of political defiance for Yevtushenko and the editors of *Literary Gazette* to publish his poem on Babi Yar. The audiences that beg him to recite the poem are not only expressing their solidarity with the Jews, and demanding that the government live up to its proclaimed ideals; they are also engaging, with enormous relish, in one of the few acts of political defiance that the regime will tolerate.

If they ever get to the point where the Jewish question can be extensively discussed with some measure of frankness—as, for example, economic problems are now being discussed—the result may well be more interesting than Memmi's effort to be Jewish at the same time that he is French and secular and Tunisian and a displaced existentialist.

There has been a slight hint of what might emerge in such a discussion: a

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few Polish writers have argued the Jewish question in terms of the rival merits of nationalism and "universal humanism." The defender of the Jews argued that it is good for a nation to shelter friendly universal people, who help one overcome narrow-mindedness. A Soviet discussion might turn up such a viewpoint, but it is more likely to become a general review of the Bolshevik dream of a multi-national state. That was probably a utopian dream to begin with—where is the great power that is not cemented by nationalist ideology?—and I am probably utopian to hope that Soviet bosses will ever allow meaningful discussion of their original dreams. But I do hope it.

Massacre of the Innocents

DEATH IN ROME. *By Robert Katz. The Macmillan Co. 334 pp. $6.95.*

RAPHAEL ROTHSTEIN
Mr. Rothstein is on the staff of the New York Times News Service, and has written for newspapers in Australia and Israel.

In 1963 a play by a young German writer shocked the world by accusing the late Pope Pius XII of remaining silent in the face of some of the worst crimes ever committed by man. Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy* specifically charged the Holy Father with refusing to protest the murder of millions of Jews in Nazi death camps.

Productions of *The Deputy* stirred controversy in Italy, Germany, France, England, the United States and Israel. Everywhere the play was produced in '63, '64 and '65 there were extreme and violent reactions. In Singen, West Germany, the mayor tried to prevent a performance by cutting off the theatre's electric power; in Rome a private performance was banned; in Paris there were mob riots on opening night; for weeks, New York police were stationed outside the theatre where *The Deputy* was playing to protect actors and audience from angry pickets; and in Tel Aviv, Habimah, the National Theatre of Israel, resisted pressure from the Foreign Ministry to cancel its plans for a Hebrew version of the Hochhuth work.

Hochhuth's play was followed by a flood of articles and books on the question of the late Pope's attitude toward the Nazis. Some, such as Saul Friedlander's *Pius XII and the Third Reich*, condemn the Vatican for failing to help the Jews during the Nazi holocaust. Others, such as *Three Popes and the Jews*, a work by Israeli diplomat Pinhas Lapide, defend Pius XII as the savior of over 800,000 Jewish lives.

Now Robert Katz, the 34-year-old American-Jewish author of *Death in Rome*, has joined the great polemic in a work describing the massacre of 335 Italians in the Ardeatine caves. In March, 1944, sixteen partisans belonging to the Patriotic Actions Groups, the Communist faction of the Italian Resistance National Liberation Committee, ambushed a column of 156 S.S. police on the Via Rasella in the center of Nazi-occupied Rome.

News of the attack reached Nazi military and diplomatic officials from Rome to Berlin within minutes. Enraged, Hitler immediately ordered that the whole area around the Via Rasella be blown up and that thirty to fifty Roman citizens be shot for every one of the thirty Germans killed. At the same time, Himmler, unaware of Hitler's order, demanded the deportation of the entire male population of Rome.

According to the author, Consul Eitel Mollhausen, head of the Nazi diplomatic mission in Rome, and Col. Eugen Dollmann, the highest political representative of the S.S. in Rome, opposed the harsh military reprisals ordered by their superiors. They were convinced that the partisans had planned the attack to provoke revenge and thus intensify the hatred the Italians felt for the occupiers, as well as increase the popularity of the Resistance.

Katz describes how Dollmann drove to the Vatican a few hours after the partisan attack to seek the Pope's support for his plan to reverse the reprisal orders. He met with Pius' personal liaison between the Vatican and the Occupation forces, Father Pankratius Pfeiffer, the German Abbot General of the Order of the Salvatorians. Dollmann told Pfeiffer, known as Padre Pancrazio, that an extreme reprisal was being planned in response to the Via Rasella action. Pancrazio, according to Katz, agreed to ask the Pope to intervene and attempt to prevent or lessen the severity of the Nazis' planned revenge. The S.S. officer and Pancrazio were to contact each other on the following day, March 24, when they would have word from their respective superiors.

Katz relies heavily on interviews with Dollmann in Munich, where the former

His life was The Revolution

Victor Serge agitated for revolution and fought in upheavals across the face of Europe. He helped to found the ruling Soviet Comintern, but was expelled from Russia in 1936 for his unorthodox communism. He died eleven years later in Mexico City, stateless and destitute. His writing was his only legacy, and his largely autobiographical novel, now published in English for the first time, is both a literary and historical landmark. "I can't think of anyone else who has written about the revolutionary movement in this century with Serge's combination of moral insight and intellectual richness."—*Dwight Macdonald.*

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DOUBLEDAY

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S.S. leader, now 66, lives in quiet retirement on a pension from the Bonn government. Dollmann gave Katz a copy of a manuscript of memoirs in which he recounts his visit with Pancrazio at the Vatican. Dollmann was convinced that if the Pope, working through channels he had used to communicate with the Occupation forces many times before, could win even a delay, the S.S. head and Mollhausen might be able to avert the impending tragedy.

While Dollmann was waiting for word from Pancrazio, Hitler's headquarters and the Nazis in Rome reached agreement on a compromise for the reprisal —ten Romans were to be shot for each dead German, and within twenty-four hours. During the night of March 23 and the next day, the Roman Gestapo rounded up men and boys from several jails, including seventy Jews who had already been arrested and were awaiting deportation. The victims ranged in age from 14 to 75 and represented every social class. Most were Catholic and the group included one priest.

Twenty-four hours after the Via Rasella attack, 335 Italians were taken by the Gestapo to abandoned caves in the Via Ardeatine on the Appian Way near the Christian catacombs. They were shot one by one. Nazi engineers placed charges of TNT around the caves and blew up the entrances, hoping to seal their contents forever. On that same afternoon the Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, published a front-page statement appealing to all Romans to refrain from violence ". . . which would only provoke more severe reprisals giving rise to an infinite series of painful episodes. . . ."

"The man who drafted this statement," Katz charges, "must have been one of the few inside the Vatican who knew that the murders were taking place." He believes that Pius knew of the reprisals "reasonably" well in advance of the Ardeatine crime and had an established contact with the Nazis. "Pius," he explains, "working quietly through German channels, without having to break his well-known silence on other questions, could have won, at the minimum, a 24 hour stay of the mass executions. Failing that, he could have spoken out, not as Pope, but as the Bishop of Rome. There was no need to sacrifice or compromise his principle of silence. This was not a 'Jewish question.' This was a question of the extermination of his own Catholic children."

What were Pius' reasons for silence? Katz thinks that the Pontiff, fearing a popular insurrection and the establishment of a radical left-wing power in Rome, chose to do nothing lest the Vatican City State be destroyed in retaliation for his involvement with fascism. The Pope was opposed to the Roman Resistance and was already in the midst of negotiations to provide for the orderly transfer of power in Rome from the Germans to the Allies.

Katz was living in Rome in March, 1964, and working as a writer for the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization when he observed the twentieth anniversary of the massacre which is known in Italy simply as Le Fosse Ardeatine. Fascinated by the conflicting accounts of the incidents in the Via Rasella and the Via Ardeatine, Katz began his study. For over two years, he consulted a mass of documents, memoirs and war-crimes trials records, contained in archives in several countries. In seeking to piece together a coherent account of the 1944 attack and reprisal he corresponded with Rolf Hochhuth, traveled twice to Munich to interview Dollmann, and even met with the partisans of the Via Rasella. In May, 1965, he went to the Vatican to seek information on the behavior of the Pope. As directed, he submitted his questions in written form, and despite a promise that they would be answered within forty-eight hours, he has never received a reply.

Inevitably there have been attacks on his book. Katz insists that he has documentary proof to substantiate his claims. An unidentified high-ranking Vatican official called his book a "vicious lie." Katz has responded by reiterating his charge that the Pope did nothing to save 335 Italians killed by the Germans. He said recently: "If that is a lie then what is the truth? Did he try to save them? If so, where is the evidence? And why has the Vatican kept it a secret for over 20 years?"

Reform or Revolution?

THE LIMITS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM. *By Robert L. Heilbroner. Harper & Row. 148 pp. $4.95.*

JAMES O'CONNOR

Mr. O'Connor is a member of the Economics Department of San Jose State College.

Robert Heilbroner is best known as a writer with a certain knack for making economic science and economic history intelligible to the general public. *The Worldly Philosophers* and *The Making of Economic Society,* in particular, are widely used in introductory economics courses and have even found a place on the bookshelves of the good suburban burghers. It is doubtful whether Mr. Heilbroner's latest book will find such a ready market. The least of the reason is that *The Limits of American Capitalism* consists of two rather slight essays which at times seem to have been written at cross-purposes. More important, the book is bound to be somewhat mysterious to the average reader because the author cannot seem to make up his mind whether he is a reformer or revolutionary.

A large part of the first essay, "Capitalism in America," recalls the Heilbroner of yore, the lucid expositor of the research of other economists and historians. His purpose is to discover whether big business exercises more or less power today than in the past. His method is to describe the structure of contemporary capitalism—a task which he performs admirably—and to analyze the relation between big capital and other groups in the economy. The overwhelming impression which Heilbroner conveys is the gigantism of the dominant corporations. Less than one-twentieth of the economy's business firms conduct 75 per cent of the nation's business. In the industrial field, one-tenth of 1 per cent of all corporations account for one-third of total production. Of the top 500 industrial corporations, the biggest fifty do as much business as the remaining 450 firms.

The giant corporations press on relentlessly. Thanks to mergers and, more important, internal expansion, the largest 100 manufacturing corporations increased their share of total value added in manufacturing from 23 per cent in 1947 to 30 per cent in 1958. Meanwhile, fewer and fewer of the biggest companies drop by the wayside; of the fifty largest companies in 1909, only seventeen remained on the commanding heights of the economy in 1964. Owing to economic prosperity and the evolution of a live-and-let-live attitude on the part of the corporate oligarchy however, the great majority of the largest enterprises in 1948 retain their dominant position today.

Who controls the great enterprises which preside over the economic destiny of the most affluent of the advanced capitalist countries? More than most

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students of the modern corporation, Heibroner is aware of the theoretical and empirical weaknesses of the Berle-Means thesis of the separation of ownership from management: "Among the 150 super-corporations, there are perhaps as many as 1,500 or 2,000 operational top managers, but as few as 200 to 300 families own blocks of stock that ultimately control these corporations." The hallmark of the ideology of the corporate elite is "cautiousness" and a "blatant discrepancy between preachment and reality." Owing their career posts to wealth, influence, ability and long experience in administration, engineering or science, half socialized in college and half believing the democratic rhetoric, the corporate oligarchy preaches its "responsibilities" to labor, consumers and suppliers, as well as to stockholders, and practices one form or another of profit maximization. Nevertheless, Heilbroner is confident that the "big business directorate is trying to make its peace with the realities of the twentieth century."

When the author abandons description for analysis, he begins to lose control of his materials. He loses sight of the plain fact which he himself has helped to establish — namely, that the corporate elite is largely responsible for the "realities of the twentieth century." The form and substance of government regulation of capital or, more accurately, the self-regulation of the corporations, modes of labor relations and styles of collective bargaining, and many aspects of social legislation—all these and more reflect the needs of the corporations and monopoly capitalism, and in sum constitute the system of corporate liberalism which has been analyzed and exposed so brilliantly by William A. Williams, Gabriel Kolko, Martin Sklar, James Weinstein and others. This failure of perspective and vision—the failure to recognize that in no significant sense is the state independent of the needs and demands of the corporate oligarchy—largely invalidates the core of the first essay—Heilbroner's analysis of the power of big business in the United States political economy. His theory of power is a simplified version of the interest group theory developed in recent decades by political sociologists and political scientists of "liberal" persuasion. One quotation will at once convey the flavor of his style and reveal the assumptions which underlie his subsequent analysis: "Anyone who has read Robert Engler's *Politics of Oil*, or who has followed the course of efforts to write a stronger Pure Food and Drug Act, or to require admonitory labeling

TRACTORS

The man was thrown clear,
Yet the experts say
To stay in the car is best.
To tap an undercurrent of
Feeling, something I turn away
From, fearful, certain
It will end but not knowing
How it will end.
The dreams have a childish
Beauty. Fireplaces, planes,
Tractors to clear the roads.

HARVEY SHAPIRO

of cigarettes, or who has probed into the operations of the FCC and the FPC, or notes the parade of business chieftains into the White House, knows that big business continues to exercise a very important influence on the formulation and administration of the nation's policies, including not least those policies that are supposed to regulate business itself."

Heilbroner is less concerned to demonstrate the power of big business, however, than to argue that business is no longer in political ascendancy. He locates a modicum of real power, and enormous potential power, in the new nonbusiness elites. The "semi-independent" military bureaucracy, the government administrators and the professional experts, according to the author, may hold the true reins of power. The fantastic expansion of the government's research budget "reflects not only the explosive growth of technical expertise . . . but its virtual pre-emption by non-business sectors." There is a national "consensus" in relation to the "problems" of defense, economic stability and growth, civil rights, urban renewal, education, unemployment and mass transport; and the day-to-day guidance of federal, as well as other government and many private, programs in these areas is largely in the hands of the new elite. Especially in the military sphere, the role of business, including even the largest corporations, is "essentially one of jockeying for favor rather than initiating policy."

But the truth of the matter is that the "semi-independent" military bureaucracy is harnessed to a foreign policy based squarely on the interests of a handful of giant corporations which make the great mass of foreign investments and appropriate the great mass of profits from foreign economic relations. The military bureaucracy indeed purchases the greater share of the economy's research and development, but Heilbroner neglects to add that nearly all R and D is performed in private industrial labs and increasingly is geared to private profit. To be sure, Heilbroner clearly states that "whatever sentiments that the new elites may hold, they are not anti-business," and that the corporations' "legitimacy is now virtually complete, its acceptance without exception," but he fails to understand that this means that government administrators and professional experts could not conceivably have any interests other than those of business and the capitalist system.

From this angle it is easy to see where Heilbroner goes wrong when he attempts to deepen his thesis. He points to protective labor legislation and the general acceptance of organized labor as indicative of the waning power of business; in fact, the dependence of organized labor on a government which is necessarily pro-business is a sign of a crippling weakness—as the present state of the unions eloquently testifies. He cites Fair Trade laws and the strengthening of anti-trust legislation as evidence of the new strength of small capital vis-à-vis big business; in point of fact, protective legislation is a form of holding action, a proof of weakness. What is more, small business is increasingly becoming partly or wholly dependent on big busi-

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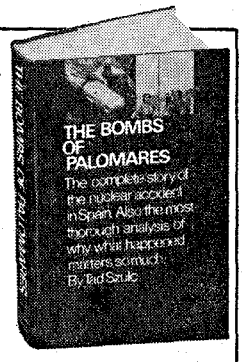

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ness. Heilbroner further maintains that small business' historic anti-big-business attitude has "largely been dissipated." But what is the right-wing Republican movement, stripped of its rhetoric and slogans, other than a weak thrust by small capital and small-town business interests at the power of the giant corporations and the ethic of corporate liberalism? The struggle within the capitalist class takes many different forms and is conducted in many different ways. It is only when he examines the relationship between big business and the consumer that Heilbroner does not lose his footing. Although the public-be-damned attitude has been replaced by a seeming deference to consumer sovereignty, Heilbroner understands that the corporations shape consumer tastes and preferences in the interest of profits.

The second essay, called "The Limits of American Capitalism," gives the book its title and compounds the basic error committed in the first. There is no disagreeing with Heilbroner that the "limits" of capitalism are "those boundaries of change that would so alter the functional base of society, or the structure of privilege built on that base, as to displace [the] given social order by a new one." These boundaries constitute the system of production for profit, not production for use; private ownership of the means of production and communication (thus ruling out the use of communications as an agency of enlightenment rather than of sales and propaganda); and the concentration of wealth. Turning the problem around, what of capitalism's possibilities? In a nutshell, the author believes that the distribution of income can be corrected at the bottom, but not at the top; that the volume and, to a degree, the character, of production can be controlled, but that the basic commercial character of capitalism cannot be changed; that it is possible to make an accommodation with the noncapitalist world, but impossible to expect noncapitalist countries to adopt capitalism.

The agency of change, or historic subject, is the nonbusiness elite. The new elites will be in charge of abolishing poverty and unemployment and other remedial symptoms of monopoly capitalism. Sooner or later, they will reach the limits of capitalism and somehow overcome them; capitalism will first realize its possibilities of reform, and then it will be superseded by some other, unnamed, system. What are the dynamic social processes, the historic forces, which Heilbroner confidently charts? Much of his case rests on an analogy with the development of capitalism out of the womb of feudalism: "Just as the insertion of cash exchanges into the fine structure of feudalism ultimately made obsolete the functional mechanism of a manorial society, so the insinuation of science and technology into the interstices of business enterprise promises to outmode the fundamental working arrangements of capitalism."

Science and technology sustain and hurry along capitalism, but by that fact a more organized social form is required. But it is not just a matter of a need for more control and organization; from the ideological standpoint, Heilbroner anticipates the "conquest of the capitalist imagination by science and scientific technology." Increasingly, the new elites will divorce their goals from the society to which they now owe allegiance. At the moment, the elites moving into positions of power at the expense of business executives have no vision to offer society nor any goal other than capitalism. But Heilbroner is apparently convinced that they "may well some day develop an independent orientation, and formulate a program for American society that transcends the limits imposed by the present system." The aim of the new elites will be the primacy of scientific discovery as the central purpose of society.

Already there are certain manifestations of the promise of organized knowledge and scientific technology "to outmode the fundamental working arrangements of capitalism." Heilbroner cites the tendency toward administrative and bureaucratic, or nonmarket, control of the economy; man increasingly shapes, rather than is shaped by, his economic environment. He also refers to the more or less steady rise of per capita income which "gradually brings to an end the condition of material need as an effective stimulus for human behavior," together with the related phenomenon of increased leisure due to the advance of labor productivity. The new leisure signifies a need for more administration and planning while the weakening of material or economic incentives suggests the urgency of developing new incentive systems.

Heilbroner has unquestionably gotten hold of certain *possibilities* inherent in United States capitalism, but a step-by-step critical review reveals major gaps and flaws in his analysis. First, the analogy with feudalism is satisfactory as far as it goes, but it fails to go far enough. There is no denying that the growth of markets, the rise in agricultural productivity and the accumulation of merchant capital, which eventually financed industrialization, undermined and subverted the feudal economy. But the capitalist social revolution did not by itself resolve the struggle for state power; a series of political upheavals and revolutions was required before the bourgeoisie was fully in control of the state. One looks in vain in *The Limits of American Capitalism* for the slightest hint of how the requisite future political changes will come about in the United States.

Second, the author is absolutely right to argue that the developing science and technology cry out for new organized social forms. But he is apparently blind to the fact that these soci-

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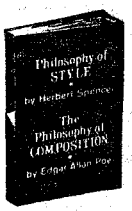

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forms—state capitalism and corporate liberalism—are already well established. Far from undermining the present economic system in those countries with a large and powerful middle class, state capitalism has given the economic system a new lease on life. Man—that is, the corporate oligarchy and its hirelings—does indeed employ state power to control the economy.

The new elites control the economy in the name of private profit. The essence of capitalist rationality today is the use of science and technology for wasteful and destructive goals. Certain technologies are suppressed and others are perverted because technology itself has to be harnessed to private profit. This is necessarily true as long as investment and accumulation are private matters; capitalism cannot survive without constant expansion and accumulation, and accumulation without profits is a flat impossibility. This is the real limit of American capitalism.

In this context, it is readily understandable that the new elites who use scientific rationality for humanly irrational ends are simply not fit to formulate and develop a program which looks to satisfy human needs and wants. The fact that a man is a scientist or expert neither solves the problem of ends nor makes the man any more human or reasonable than a day laborer. This is particularly true in the United States where the scientific elites are largely bought and paid for by the corporate oligarchy in its role as businessman, foundation head or government official. Does Heilbroner really expect a discredited and corrupted elite to lead a revolution against itself?

Probably not, because he begs the question with the statement that there does not "seem to be much point in attempting to foresee by what precise stratagems the elites in the future may assert their claims." It is a weak defense of his position to refer to historical experience which "discourages us from attempting to prophesy the manner of demise of the social order to be superseded." And it is a strange position for an articulate observer-member of the new elite, a man who presumably will be the historic subject—especially one of the rare men who comprehend fully that the real problem is the struggle for the human use of science. "This is the struggle for the very distant future," the author writes in his final sentence, "which must be begun, nonetheless, today." Please, Mr. Heilbroner, whom do we fight, where and how, and on whose terms?

TELEVISION / John Horn

Controversy, which used to strike terror at the networks, is now a common television commodity. I cite examples from a recent week.

The Smothers Brothers struck a blow against the Vietnamese War when they appeared as guests on the Joey Bishop show. The comedians exhibited a Mother's Day card bearing the message, "Another Mother For Peace." They dead-panned the information that it was natural for mothers to want peace as they provided the card supplier's address.

Later in the week George Jessel, the perennial bridegroom, showed up on the Merv Griffin show with a new fiancée, and in the course of a personal, emotional defense of President Johnson and the Administration's Vietnamese policy, expressed the wish that Marines would beat up long-haired beatniks who protest that policy.

Before the week was out, F. Lee Bailey, the celebrated counselor at law, was retrying the case of Dr. Carl Coppolino, who had been found guilty of murdering his wife, before Joey Bishop, Johnny Carson and their late-night television audiences. Having failed to persuade a Florida jury to what he considers proper evaluation of testimony on chemical findings in the corpse, Bailey was attempting to bring a nationwide jury around to his view — without the inconveniences or confusion of hearing the witnesses themselves or having the prosecution's case also presented.

The remarkable thing about these instances is that they all occurred on entertainment programs. Remarkable, but these days not at all unusual. Fun-and-game shows now provide the only television area where contention is to be found.

Nor is the entertainment invasion of the socio-political domain related to the careers of California's Sen. George Murphy and Gov. Ronald Reagan. Television entertainers, with the possible exception of David Susskind, have no political ambitions. But they do recognize a void when they see one. The void in this case is created by television's principle and practice in news and public affairs.

The definition of news is traditional, hard, what happened yesterday or today. Comment is confined to occasional mild utterances by Eric Sevareid or Howard K. Smith. Fred W. Friendly confessed, when he induced Walter Lippmann to appear on C.B.S., that it was sad commentary that television had to import opinion.

And public-affairs documentaries, with very rare exceptions, have become commercial and pallid, like most network television. In the past, an occasional documentary, notably some of Friendly's, stirred the public. But increasingly the sixty-minute reality shows—e.g., series like *Saga of Western Man, Great Explorations, The World of Animals*—are as non-contemporary, unchallenging and salable as their entertainment relatives, the situation comedies.

With news limited to headlines of the day and documentaries to marketable subjects, television has no real place for interpretation and analysis of the issues out of which controversy is made. Even if appetite for dissent and dispute could be shown to exist, television news bureaus do not control, and have little influence on, the operation of the networks, which have been organized to peddle national entertainment, which is profitable, rather than national problems, which are not.

However, while the news and public

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affairs departments are self-censored—because of lack of air time or incentives—relative freedom and flexibility do exist in entertainment, an area considered harmless. Thus, when a subject has been long suppressed in the consensus society, it becomes fair game for the mass-media sensation traffickers who, like peddlers of French postcards, exploit curiosity without satisfying it. In the interest of titillation they win reputations for "boldness" by violating taboos, prodding sacred cows, and mentioning the unmentionable.

The daring subjects for our middle-ground society are those touching extremes—Birchites or Black Muslims, hippies or homosexuals, Playboy bunnies or nuns, mod fashions or topless waitresses, alcoholics or drug addicts, hawks or doves. Such topics constitute the tired, semi-informed routine of most talk on our entertainment shows.

Perceptive opportunists with a sense of black humor—TV hosts Alan Burke, Joe Pyne, Susskind—have long mined the rich vein. A mixture of sensation, vitriol and laughs will always attract a large audience. The maestros of other entertainment talk shows—Bishop, Carson, Griffin—are not far behind the sensation leaders, although normally they're not as extreme in their pursuit of extremism.

The situation is absurd and typically American: matters too important to be discussed seriously are made fun of and exploited for profit. Correction may be possible, but it will not be easy. The industry is dogged by self-deception. George R. Graham, Jr., president of N.B.C. Enterprises, recently called American radio and television audiences the best informed in the world. A contradictory survey, conducted for C.B.S. by Opinion Research Corporation, indicated that the general public has a low understanding and knowledge of current events. No correlation was seen with another survey, by Roper Research Associates, which named television the public's major source of news.

Proper alternatives to Messrs. Smothers, Jessel and Bailey might be documentaries about private propaganda on public air waves, about pacifism, unpopular versus popular wars, the right to dissent, the use of force in suppressing dissent, the suitability of trial by public opinion. But shoot, they wouldn't be much fun, would they?

It is not evident that commercial television wants the American public well informed. Not only is there little profit in it but the tease-and-tickle market of the entertainers would be ruined.

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Spring Records 2 / BENJAMIN BORETZ

SIBELIUS: The Seven Symphonies. The Japanese Philharmonic; Akeo Watanabe, cond. Epic SC 6057/BSC 157.

Symphony No. 5 in E-Flat major, Op. 82. Symphony No. 7 in C major, Op. 105. Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Loren Maazel, cond. London CM 9488/CS 6488.

Perhaps not quite the seven deadliest symphonies ever composed, Sibelius' nevertheless consist mainly of the maximally gradual unfolding of ideas that begin unprepossessingly and grow to full proclamatory triviality. Those reputed to be more "original"—particularly the Fourth—are so primarily because the vocabulary in which their ideas are formulated is borrowed from a more "modern" literature; they are intrinsically no less obvious nor any less monodimensionally developed. Within these (admittedly severe) imaginative limitations the symphonies are, however, competently composed. What is odd is that they have attracted such serious attention in the form of extravagant praise and equally vehement damnation. This, I believe, must stem primarily from the ideological *partis pris* by the asserters (the reminiscent surface of the works seems to have been a rallying point for the belligerently nostalgic, and a convenient target for the mindlessly *avant-garde*); at any rate, nothing I can hear in the works themselves seems provocative of vehemence of any sort. Of the recordings, the Japan Philharmonic's performances are merely straightforward; the considerably greater finesse of Maazel and the Vienna Philharmonic gives the Fifth and Seventh at least an orchestral brilliance that seems virtually superimposed on Sibelius' rather flat-footed orchestration, but which makes the experience a little more interesting.

DVORAK: Symphonies Nos. 7, 8, 9. The Cleveland Orchestra; George Szell, cond. Epic SC 6055/BSC 155.

These works have long awaited recorded performances of an interpretive depth and executive refinement at the level of their compositional ingenuity and profundity. This is an important release, therefore, even if its accomplishment is primarily in the domain of executive finesse, which thus leaves the interpretive burden still on the perceptivity of the listener. But such perceptivity is at least made possible by the superiority of the playing, and the very absence of the usual simplistic excesses that overwhelm Dvorak's delicate sonorous and textural balances is an interpretive virtue in itself.

MILHAUD: *Le Boeuf sur le toit.* Satie: *Parade.* Auric: Overture. Françaix: Concertino. London Symphony Orchestra; Antal Dorati, cond. Mercury MG50435/SR90435.

The pop-music articulative surface through which the very complicated ideas of Stravinsky's *Histoire du Soldat* are perceived seems to have misled a number of French composers in the twenties to equate such an "anti-serious" —and hence functionally transparent— exterior with a genuinely anti-serious triviality of interior. Out of this enthusiasm they composed music that was in fact "pop" (and thus utterly antithetic to the compositional dead-seriousness of Stravinsky's work), consisting mainly of arrangements or simulations of strings of popular and folk tunes whose half-"classical" veneer left them rather less scintillating than the purer instances of the genre. The ingenuities among the works in the present album are restricted to the Milhaud *Boeuf sur le toit*; but they are rather thinner even here than in other Milhaud works of the period, especially *La Création du monde* and *l'Homme et son désir,* both of which manifest a compositional involvement with their popular elements far beyond anything in *le Boeuf.* The Satie is characteristic in the musical featurelessness that permits inexhaustible imputations of cleverness, and the other works are routine *jeux du Conservatoire.* Dorati's inflexible performances, too, miss whatever last chances remain to salvage a little *joie.*

BYRD: Mass in Three Parts. Mass in Four Parts. Argo ZRG 5362. Mass for five voices. Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis from The Great Service. Ave Verum Corpus. Argo ZRG 5226. All with the Choir of King's College Chapel, Cambridge; David Willcocks, cond.

Within the (from our *a posteriori* point of view) severe limitations of 16th-century music-structural resources—particularly the minimal number of functional dimensions and the homogeneous invariance of the presentational surface —the achievement by a few composers of a strong sense of individual event-contour, and of wide articulative variety within a multi-sectional work seems truly remarkable. Among composers of sacred vocal music, Dufay, Ockeghem, Isaac, Josquin, Lassus and Byrd are awesome for their capacities in this domain; and Byrd's special quality, notable in all the present works but especially in the five-voice mass and the motet Ave Verum Corpus, is the astonishing range of continuity—and articulation-images, all of which project sharply individual identities out of drastically simple and minimally embellished materials. The present works are full of ideas of this kind, and perhaps, for the listener unaccustomed to the earlier, minuscule distinction-range, the simplicity and compactness of Byrd's profiles and textures make them more immediately discernible, and might ultimately help to make the more elliptical differentia in—progressively — Josquin, Lassus, Isaac and Ockeghem become evident. The performance is transparent, well-tuned and coordinated, if perhaps a little too uniformly "sensitive" in the face of Byrd's frequently broad-stroked articulation.

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Lemon Drops; *For Harry*; for tape alone; Hamm: Canto for soprano, speaker and chamber ensemble; Hiller: *Machine Music*, for piano, percussion and tape; Martirano: *Underworld*. Ensemble from the University of Illinois; Jack McKenzie and David Gilbert, conds. Heliodor HS 25047.

An important album for its representation of music composed at one of the most important American university centers of new-musical activity, far too rarely available otherwise either in recordings or performances locally. The representation is particularly valuable for the evidence it gives of the real diversity of approach and result among "advanced" American composers, and within the domain of the electronic medium; in particular, all these works manifest a fundamentally theatrical approach, compared with the contextualism that characterizes the work of the Eastern composers, even where gestural or theatrical surfaces appear, as in Carter, Wolpe or Wuorinen. Of the Illinois composers, Salvatore Martirano is perhaps best known in New York from his earlier days and frequent performances of his work here. From the beginning, his work manifested a particular interest in a supercharged heightening of verbal qualities superimposed on a basically traditional twelve-tone, specifically Bergian, foundation. The furthest previous extension of this was in his instrumental-choral *O O O O That Shakespeherian Rag*, performed in Town Hall several years ago and recorded on CRI. But *Underworld* carries the pure theatrical-verbal-gestural quality much further, to the point where it no longer articulates or is articulated by the pitch-durational-timbral-textural substructures, but explodes them into elements of theatrical unfolding. Lejaren Hiller has long been one of the important technological innovators in the development of electronic and computer resources, which he has used not only in the usual way as performance media but also for various kinds of mechanical simulations of compositional processes, through which most of his recent works have been generated. Kenneth Gaburo's music has always presented a rather strenuously gestural surface, with a particular predilection for internally immobile sonority blocks at instrumental and vocal extremes, a Varèsian quality that translates with particular felicity into the tape-studio medium. Herbert Brün's work is more directly Darmstadtian, and Charles Hamm's reflects the amalgamation of a remarkable diversity of compositional interests.

NEW MUSIC FROM BRITAIN: Peter Maxwell Davies: *Leopardi Fragments*. Alexander Goehr: Two Choruses. Richard Rodney Bennett: *Calendar*. Malcolm Williamson: Symphony for Voices. Melos Ensemble; John Carewe, cond. Angel (S) 36387.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC: Don Banks: Trio for horn, violin and piano. Richard Rodney Bennett: Trio for flute, clarinet and oboe. Phyllis Tate: Sonata for clarinet and cello. Iain Hamilton: *Sonata Notturna* for horn and piano. Members of the Melos Ensemble. Argo ZRG 5475.

The works of Davies, Goehr and Hamilton deserve serious attention; among European, and even British, composers they manifest a highly uncharacteristic insistence on the primary significance of a clear and cognitive pitch-durational-relational structure as the compositional center out of which surface qualities arise, rather than merely using these components in generalized configurations to produce images of gestural activity, as elsewhere. The result in their work is a depth of musical identity notably absent from the more obviously spectacular works of their Continental colleagues. Davies in particular reveals a striking originality in the invention and integration of sonorities and continuities within such contexts of coherent unfolding, while Goehr's work has the kind of polish and solidity one associates with much less pre-middle-generation composers; the present choruses are interesting for their ideas about choral sonority, particularly in the exploration of variant groupings of voices and of the range of accentual possibilities available in a purely vocal-ensemble context. Hamilton's sonata projects a sense of a sound and successional quality for each segment, involving interesting ideas about tempo changes in the course of a phraseological unit that suggests a relation to the work of Carter. Some of the interrelations and exchanges between horn and piano are also quite ingenious. The Melos Ensemble has long been the most accomplished extra-American chamber ensemble for contemporary music (the recording of the Schoenberg Op. 29 Suite has been particularly distinguished evidence of this) and—although in the absence of scores it is impossible to determine definitively—their playing here seems exemplary.

BEETHOVEN: Violin Concerto. Yehudi Menuhin, violin; The New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel (S) 36369.

This performance unfolds with that almost beatless continuity that characterized Fürtwängler's conducting. It is, in fact, the most Fürtwängler-like performance by Klemperer I have heard, in which the semblance appears to arise out of an idea about creating a full-orchestral articulative analogue to the solo violin's super-*legato*, to counterpoise the super-demarcation of the opening drumbeats that become a succession of fourfold, one-note reiterations through the first movement. Menuhin, too, is evidently still possessed of unusual violinistic capacities, and is capable also of a genuine conceptual collaboration in the projection of this rather special idea of the Concerto; the total *legato* achieved in the unfolding of the slow movement is perhaps the most remarkable result of its realization.

Other recent releases of special interest:

WAGNER: *Tristan und Isolde*. Birgit Nilsson, Wolfgang Windgassen, Christa Ludwig, Martti Talvela, Eberhard Wächter. Bayreuth Festival Company; Karl Böhm, cond. DGG 139 221/25.

Die Walküre. Birgit Nilsson, Regina Crespin, Christa Ludwig, James King, Hans Hotter, Gottlob Frick; Vienna Philharmonic; Georg Solti, cond. London A 4509/OSA 1509.

WUORINEN: Piano Variations (see *The Nation*, May 4 1964). Martirano: *Cocktail Music*. Burge: *Eclipse II*. David Burge, piano. Advance FGR 3.

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